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# MEMOIRS

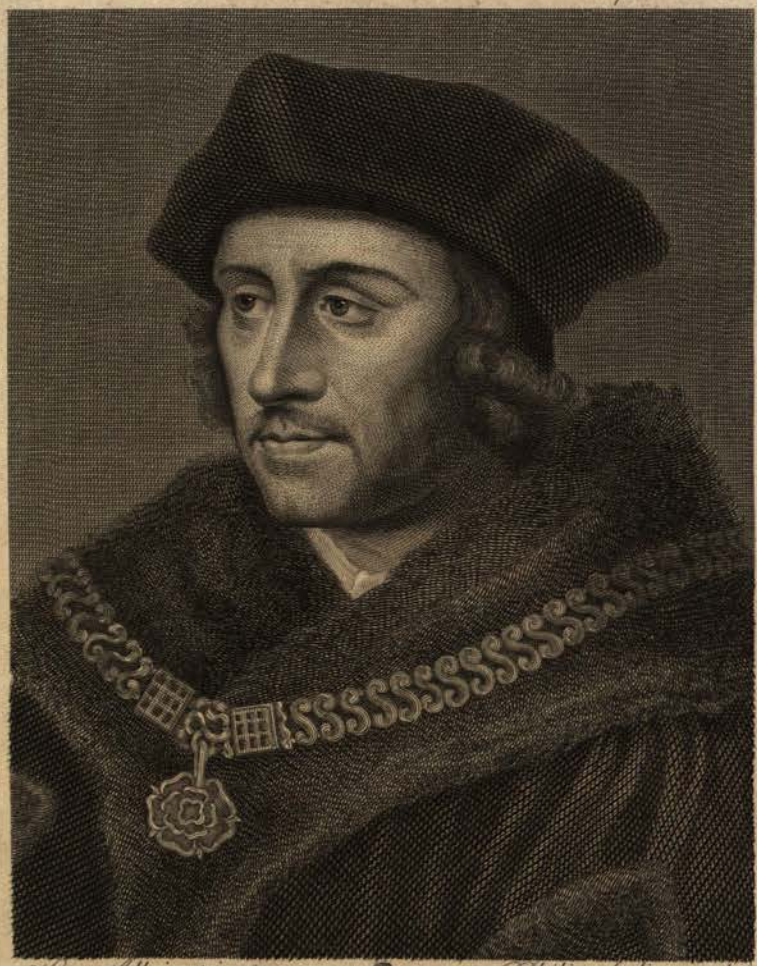
OF

# SIR THOMAS MORE,

&c.

VOL. I.

to face title Vol 1



Hans Holbein pinx.t Philip Audinet sculp.t

yo^r humble orato^r & moost bounden bedeman

Thomas More

# MEMOIRS

OF

# SIR THOMAS MORE,

WITH

## A NEW TRANSLATION OF HIS UTOPIA,

HIS

## HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III,

AND

## HIS LATIN POEMS.

*By ARTHUR CAYLEY, the Younger, Esq.*

Like Cato firm, like Aristides just,
Like rigid Cincinnatus nobly poor,
A dauntless soul, erect, who smil'd on death. THOMSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

*Vol. I.*

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# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. I.

*Biographers of Sir Thomas More.... Mr. Roper.... Mr. More.... The knight's ancestry.... Sir John More.... Sir Thomas' mother.... His birth.... Anecdote of his infancy.... His school-education.... Cardinal Morton.... More's early talents.... Specimen of his early wit and reflection.... He is sent to Oxford.... His first acquaintance with Erasmus.... Wolsey.... More studieth the law.... He is made reader at Furnival's-inn, and reads a public lecture.... His verses on Elizabeth, queen to Henry VII.... He discovers some inclination for the monastic state.... Erasmus' early high opinion of him.... Dean Colet.... More's letter to him.... Colet's high opinion of More.... More marries Jane Colte.... His family by her.... He renews his application to the law.... Henry VII.... More's early patriotism.... He offends the king.... Henry's revenge.... More escapes Dr. Fox's snare.... His application in retirement.... Four juvenile poems by him.* ..... 3

## CHAP. II.

*Accession of Henry VIII.... Consummation of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon.... More re-appears in the world and writes verses on the coronation.... Anecdote of Emson and Dudley.... More's attachment to Erasmus.... He is made one of the under-sheriff's.... His high estimation as a lawyer.... He replies to Dorpius.... His second wife.... Henry desires to engage him in his service.... He accompanies Tonstall to Flanders.... His letter to Erasmus on his embassy.... Busleiden and Ægidius.... More's letter to Warham.... He pleads a cause for the pope.... Is knighted,* &c....

*His account of his first advancement.... Henry's earlier court.... The king's intimacy with More.... Luther.... Erasmus persecuted.... More expected the reformation.... Edward Lee attacks Erasmus.... More defends him.... Brixius attacks More.... Erasmus defends him.... More's letter to the university of Oxford.... He is made speaker of the commons.... His speech on the occasion.... Anecdotes of Wolsey and More.... Wolsey wishes to send him to Spain.... Progress of Luther.... Henry writes against him, and More is suspected.... Luther's reply and Ross' rejoinder.... Erasmus writes against Luther.... More is exhorted to write.... His character in the Ciceronianus.... He is made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.... Anecdote of the king and More.... More is sent on foreign embassies.... His success at Cambray.... His loss by fire, and letter to his wife.....* 59

## CHAP. III.

*Cardinal Wolsey.... His advancement, and quarrel with the emperor Charles.... Anecdotes of More and Wolsey.... The king's scruples regarding his marriage.... His inconsistency.... More's conduct in the matter.... Wolsey's fall.... More made chancellor.... The duke of Norfolk's speech and More's on the occasion.... More's improvement in the office.... His respect to his father, and impartiality to his family.... Anecdotes of his chancellorship.... He clears the chancery of causes.... He is offered money by the bishops for his writings.... Is again importuned by Henry on the divorce.... He determines to resign the seal.... Which he at last effects.... Henry's promise to him.... More's contempt of worldly grandeur.... His wife is more concerned.... Anecdotes of her.... More provides situations for his attendants, and calls together his family.... His poverty.... Death of his father, and his filial affection.... His letters to Erasmus on his resignation.... His monumental inscription.... His buildings and charity at Chelsea.... The remarks of*

*Fox and others on More's persecution of heterodoxy.... State of the times.... More's own refutation of his calumniators..... 95*

## CHAP. IV.

*More's anticipation of his fate.... He withdraws from public business. .... His remark on Henry's second marriage, and advice to Cromwell.... His behaviour to the bishops.... Malignant scrutiny on his conduct.... The nun of Kent.... More's letter to Cromwell, and a curious anecdote.... More accused of misprision of treason.... Conduct of the committee for examining him.... More's firmness.... His letter to the king.... He is accused of ingratitude.... His reply.... Anecdote on his return home.... The king's conduct.... More's name erased from the bill.... Acts passed in parliament.... Henry's triumph in his new titles.... Opinions of the Romish party, and of their adversaries.... More refuseth the oath of succession.... He is cited to appear at Lambeth.... His foreboding, and letter to his daughter.... Cranmer's argument, and his curious letter.... More and Fisher committed to the Tower, and attainted.... More's sentiments on the king's marriage, and the pope's primacy..... 141*

## CHAP. V.

*Henry VIII and Constantius.... More's firmness.... Anecdotes.... Mrs. Roper visiteth him.... His pains to meet his fate in a becoming manner.... His reflection on the execution of Reynolds, &c.... His verses on Cromwell's promise.... Lady More visiteth him, and some of the privy-council.... His two letters to his daughter.... His books taken from him.... Rich's conversation with More.... More arraigned.... The commissioners and jury.... More's answer to the indictment.... His answer to Rich.... The jury find him guilty.... His arguments as to the insufficiency of the indictment.... The chancellor's answer, and More's reply.... Sentence passed upon him.... Farther proceedings.... More's courage and constancy.... His meet-*

*ing with his children.... Anecdote.... His last letter to his daughter..., Sir Thomas Pope sent to him.... More's preparation for death.... His last jokes, and execution.... His burial.....* 193

## CHAP. VI.

*Anecdote.... Queen Ann and Cranmer indolent in More's cause.... Effects of More's execution.... Sentiments of the Emperor Charles, Cardinal Pole, and Paulus Jovius.... More's religion, bigotry, &c. .... Not so extravagant as some, in his notions of the papal power. .... His propensity to jesting, and witty sayings.... His behaviour at his death natural.... His disinterestedness, and integrity while chancellor, and virtue as a patriot minister.... Queen Catharine's opinion of More.... His greatness of mind, excellent temper, and good management of his family.... Other traits of his character. .... His learning, modesty, and benevolence.... His Utopia, History of Richard III, epigrams, letters, and controversial writings.... Burnet's character of him as a writer.... The editions of More's English and Latin works.... His personal peculiarities.... His family.... Erasmus' encomium on More's house.... Mrs. Roper.... Her letter to her father in prison.... Her daughter Basset.... More's letter to Gonellus.... The death of Erasmus and view of his character.... More's remonstrances with him misrepresented...* 237

## APPENDIX.

*Erasmus Rot. Ulrico Hutteno.....* 297
*Erasmus Rot. Gulielmo Budæo.....* 306
*Gulielmus Covrinus Nucerinus Philippo Montano.....* 310
*Clarorum et Doctorum Virorum varia Epigrammata in laudem Thomæ Mori.....* 328

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## CHAP. I.

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If examples of the most rigid integrity, with the sacrifice of life itself in the cause of supposed truth, deserve the attention of mankind, few characters on record can have a higher claim to this attention than our celebrated countryman Sir Thomas More.

Our most authentic sources of information respecting him are, his Life written by William Roper, Esq. who married his favourite daughter Margaret; that written by Thomas More, Esq. his great-grandson; and a letter or two by Erasmus relative to his friend's domestic history. The other extant accounts of Sir Thomas are little else than copies from one or other of these, and throw no new light on his history.

Mr. Roper, naturally the more likely of the two biographers to be well-informed upon the subject, hath been accused of allowing his affection to prevail in some measure over his judgment on this occasion, and of writing a panegyric rather than a history. Habits of long intimacy with a character of great domestic worth, it is true, attach us to it in a degree of enthusiasm, and one so long enjoying the intimacy and esteem of such a character as the knight, had, we must allow, peculiar difficulties to encounter in this way, when he afterward became his biographer. As to his qualification in point of information, however, we may allow his own words to be unanswerable,—*knowing his doings and mind no man living so well, by reason I was con-*

*tinually resident in his house by the space of sixteen years and more.* And for the respectability of his character, though tombstones too often exaggerate, let his epitaph, as preserved by Mr. Somner, be allowed to speak.

Hic jacet
Venerabilis vir Gulielmus Roper armiger,
Filius et hæres quondam Johannis Roperi armigeri;
Et Margareta,
Uxor ejusdem Gulielmi,
Filia quondam Thomæ Mori militis
Summi olim Angliæ cancellarii;
Græcis Latinisque literis doctissima.
Qui quidem Gulielmus patri suo in officio
Prothonotariatus supremæ curiæ banci
Regii successit; in quo cum annis LIV
Fideliter ministrasset, idem officium
Filio suo primogenito Thomæ reliquit.
Fuit is Gulielmus domi forisque munificens,
Mitis, misericors; incarceratorum,
Oppressorum et pauperum baculus.
Genuit ex Margareta uxore, quam unicam
Habuit, filios duos et filias tres; ex iis
Vidit in vita sua nepotes et pronepotes.
Uxorem in virili ætate amisit; viduatus uxore,
Castissime vixit annis XXXIII.
Tandem completis in pace diebus, decessit
In senectute bona ab omnibus desideratus
Die IV mensis Jan. ann. Chr. Salv. M.DLXXVII
Ætatis vero suæ LXXXII.

Mr. More, whose account of the knight is fuller than that of his predecessor, may be presumed from his direct

relationship, to have made his additions with authenticity. He is said to have been a person of respectability, and to have been employed by the English clergy as their agent in Spain and at the court of Rome. On his death, the English Roman catholic clergy erected a monument to his memory, as a testimony of their respect and the sense they had of his services. A celebrated protestant divine of our country pronounces him, however, *a narrow-minded zealot and a very fanatic;* while Anthony Wood says of his Life of Sir Thomas, that it is *incomparably well written,* a judgment to be expected from Wood—*similes habent labra lactucas.* His bigotted attachment to the religion of his celebrated ancestor is indeed too apparent in his work; and his biographical follower hath moreover frequent cause to regret his neglect of chronological order, he having pretty implicitly followed the indifferent arrangement of Stapleton. We will add his epitaph as preserved by Wood.

D. O. M. S.
Thomæ Moro dioc. ebor. anglo
Magni illius Thomæ Mori Angliæ cancellarii
Et martyris pronepoti atque hæredi;
Viro probitate et pietate insigni;
Qui, raro admodum apud Britannos exemplo,
In fratrem natu minorem amplum transcripsit
Patrimonium, et presbyter Romæ factus,
Inde jussu sedis apostolicæ in patriam
Projectus, plusculos annos strenuam fidei
Propagandæ navavit operam.
Postea cleri anglicani negotia VII annos Romæ
Et in Hispania P. P. Paulo V et Gregorio XV

Summa integritate et industria
Suisque sumptibus procuravit.
Tandem de subrogando anglis episcopo
Ad Urban. VIII missus, negotio eo feliciter
Confecto, laborum mercedem recepturus,
Ex hac vita migravit
XI Apr; Ann: M.DCXXV
Ætatis suæ LIX.
Clerus anglicanus mæstus P.

The modern biographer of Sir Thomas More, as all of his intermediate biographers have done, must rely on these two writers as his safest guides. We shall find their accounts to admit of considerable amplification as we proceed; and should either of our conductors occasionally make what appears to us *a false step*, we must endeavour to use what circumspection we can at this distant period in avoiding his error.

Respecting the knight's early ancestry, both of our guides have left us ill informed. From the great-grandson, however, we learn that Sir John More, knight, the father of Sir Thomas, *bare arms from his birth, having his coat quartered.* By reason of Henry VIII.'s seizure of their evidences, he adds, the family could not make out their ancestry; but *he had heard* that they proceeded from the Mores of Ireland, or the latter from them. Sir Thomas himself informs us in his epitaph, that he sprang from *no noble family but of an honest stock.*

Sir John More appears to have been born about the year

1440.* He is said to have been a lawyer of distinguished talents and integrity, and was one of the justices of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VIII.†. He is described by Sir Thomas in the epitaph already alluded to, *homo civilis, suavis, innocens, mitis, misericors, equus et integer; annis quidem gravis, sed corpore plusquam pro ætate vivido.* He lived to a great age, and had the singular fortune of seeing his son Chancellor of England, as will appear by an anecdote hereafter to be related.

Camden, in his Remains, relates a bon-mot of Sir John which will not preposses the fair sex in his favour. He compared a man choosing a wife, to one who dipped his hand into a bag which contained twenty snakes and one eel—*it was twenty to one that he caught the eel.*

After this, we are surprised at finding that the old gentleman had the resolution to take *three dips* himself; for we learn that he was thrice married.

The maiden name of his first wife, the mother of Sir Thomas, was ——— Handcombe, of Holywell in Bedfordshire. The age of portents was not yet gone by; and Dr. Clement, a famous physician of the time, and the intimate friend of More, reported of her, that, on the night after her marriage, she saw, in a dream, engraven on her wedding ring, the number and characters of her children, *the face of one shining with superior brightness.* She had Jane, mar-

* Erasmus to Budæus. † More.

ried to Richard Stafferton, Esq. whom Mr. More calls a noble gentleman; Elizabeth, wife of John Rastell, Esq. the father of Judge Rastell; and Thomas, the celebrated subject of these memoirs. Of Sir John's other wives we only know, that the christian name of the last was Alice. She lived on her jointure in Hertfordshire, at a messuage then called Moreplace, but since Gubbons, in the parish of Northmimes, and outlived her son-in-law. Being deprived of her possessions in Henry's fury, a little before her death, she died at Northal, about a mile distant, and was buried in that church.*

Thomas, the only son of Sir John More, was born at his father's usual residence in Milk-street, London, in 1480, 1480.
the twentieth year of the reign of our fourth Edward. Another presage of the child's future eminence, *related by his nurse*, is, that one day as she was riding with him in her arms over a piece of water, the horse slipt by accident into a deep and dangerous hole. To give the infant, a chance for his life, she threw him over a hedge into a field, and having afterward, with much difficulty, made her own escape, she found him, to her no small surprise, not only unhurt, but sweetly smiling upon her. †

The school of S^t. Anthony in the parish of Bennet-fink, in Threadneedle-street, belonging to an hospital of the same name, which had been in high reputation since the time of Henry VI, and, beside other eminent persons, numbereth

* More. † More.

archbishops Heath and Whitgift among its scholars, afforded More likewise the rudiments of his education.* Here a learned man named Nicholas Holt was his master, under whom, to use Mr. More's expression, he rather *greedily devoured* than *leisurely chewed* his grammar rules, and far surpassed all his schoolfellows in understanding and diligence.

By the interest of his father, More afterward became an inmate of the house of Cardinal Morton,† of whom he hath transmitted us a high character, as well in his Utopia as in his History of Richard III. His authority in the state, saith More, was not more weighty than were his wisdom and virtue; his eloquence was polished and convincing, his skill great as a lawyer, his understanding incomparable, his memory very extraordinary. The king and state relied upon his counsel, for it was his policy which placed the crown of the usurper Richard upon the head of Henry, and united the houses of York and Lancaster. Henry VIII made him archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, to which the pope added the honour of cardinal.

Mr. Roper informs us, that while More was in the cardinal's house, *though he were young of years, yet would he at Christmas suddenly sometimes step-in among the players, and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside.* The cardinal, he adds, took great delight in his wit and towardness, and would

* Roper and Newcourt. † Utopia and Roper.

often say of More to the nobility who happened to be dining with him, *this child, here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.*

The following curious specimen of More's early wit and reflection, is extracted from his English works.

---

'Mr. Thomas More in his youth devised in his father in London, a goodly hanging of fine painted cloth with nine pageants and verses over every one of those pageants, which verses expressed and declared what the images in those pageants represented. And also in those pageants were painted the things that the verses over them did in effect declare. Which verses here follow.

---

In the first pageant was painted a boy playing at the top and scourge, and over this pageant was written as followeth.

CHILDHOOD.

I am called Childhood, in play is all my mind
To cast a quoit, a cokstele and a ball,
A top can I set and drive it in his kind;
But would to God these hateful bookes all
Were in a fire burnt to powder small;
Then might I lead my life always in play,
Which life God send me to mine ending day!

In the second pageant was painted a goodly fresh young man, riding upon a goodly horse, having a hawk on his fist and a brace of greyhounds following him. And under the horse's feet was painted the same boy that in the first pageant was playing at the top and scourge. And over this second pageant the writing was this.

MANHOOD.

Manhood I am, therefore I me delight
To hunt and hawk, to nourish-up and feed,
The greyhound to the course, the hawk to the flight,
And to bestride a good and lusty steed——
These things become a very man indeed.
Yet thinketh this boy his peevish game sweeter,
But what, no force, his reason is no better.

---

In the third pageant was painted the goodly young man (in the second pageant) lying on the ground. And upon him stood Lady Venus, goddess of love, and by her upon this man stood the little God Cupid. And over this third pageant this was the writing that followeth.

VENUS AND CUPID.

Whoso na knoweth the strength, power, and might
Of Venus and me her little son Cupid;
Thou Manhood shalt a mirrour be aright
By us subdued for all thy great pride,
My fiery dart pierceth thy tender side.
Now thou who erst dispisedst children small
Shall wax a child again and be my thrall.

In the fourth pageant was painted an old sage father, sitting in a chair. And lying under his feet was painted the image of Venus and Cupid that were in the third pageant. And over this fourth pageant the scripture was this.

AGE.

Old age am I, with lockes thin and hoar,
Of our short life the last and best part,
Wise and discreet; the public weal therefore
I help to rule, to my labour and smart.
Therefore Cupid withdraw thy fiery dart.
Chargeable matters shall of love oppress
Thy childish game and idle business.

In the fifth pageant was painted an image of Death, and under his feet lay the old man in the fourth pageant. And, above this fifth pageant, this was the saying.

DEATH.

Though I be foul, ugly, lean, and mishape,
Yet there is none in all this world wide,
That may my power withstand or escape;
Therefore sage father, greatly magnified,
Descend from your chair, set apart your pride,
Vouchsafe to lend, tho' it be to your pain,
To me, a fool, some of your wise brain.

In the sixth pageant was painted Lady Fame, and under her feet was the picture of Death that was in the fifth

pageant. And over this sixth pageant the writing was as followeth.

FAME.

Fame I am called, marvel you nothing,
Though with tongues am compassed all round,
For in voice of people is my chief living,
O cruel Death, thy power I confound.
When thou a noble man hast brought to ground,
Maugre thy teeth, to live cause him shall I
Of people in perpetual memory.

---

In the seventh pageant was painted the image of Time, and under his feet was lying the picture of Fame that was in the sixth pageant. And this was the scripture over this seventh pageant.

TIME.

I whom thou sees with horologe in hand,
Am named Time, the lord of every hour,
I shall in space destroy both sea and land.
O simple Fame, how darest thou man honour,
Promising of his name an endless flower;
Who may in the world have a name eternal
When I shall in process destroy the world and all.

---

In the eighth pageant was pictured the image of Lady Eternity, sitting in a chair, under a sumptuous cloth of state, crowned with an imperial crown. And under her

feet lay the picture of Time, that was in the seventh pageant, and above this eighth pageant was it written as followeth.

ETERNITY.

He needeth not to boast, I am Eternity,
The very name signifieth well,
And mine empire infinite shall be.
Thou, mortal Time, every man can tell,
Art nothing else but the mobility
Of sun and moon, changing in every degree;
When they shall leave their course, thou shalt be brought,
For all thy pride and boasting, into nought.

---

In the ninth pageant was painted a poet sitting in a chair; and over this pageant were there written, these verses in Latin following.

THE POET.

Has fictas quemcunque juvat spectare figuras;
Sed mira veros qui putat arte homines,
Ille potest veris animum sic pascere rebus,
Ut pictis oculos pascit imaginibus.
Namque videbit uti fragilis bona lubrica mundi,
Tam cito non veniunt, quam cito pretereunt.
Gaudia, laus et honor, celeri pede omnia cedunt,
Quid manet excepto semper amore Dei?
Ergo homines, levibus jam jam diffidite rebus,
Nulla recessuro spes adhibenda bono.
Qui dabit æternam nobis pro munere vitam
In permansuro ponite vota Deo.'

---

About the age of seventeen, Cardinal Morton committed his charge to the university of Oxford; according to Wood to St. Maryhall, but other writers agree to Canterbury (subsequently Christchurch) college. Mr. Hearn was of opinion that he had a chamber at St. Maryhall and studied there, but that he belonged to Christchurch.* He remained two years at the university, and profited exceedingly, saith Mr. Roper, in rhetoric, logic, and philosophy; proving, addeth the great-grandson, what wonders wit and diligence can accomplish, when united, as they seldom are, in one painful student.

That auspicious event in More's history, his intimacy with the good and learned Erasmus, probably had its origin
1497. about this time; the great scholar being at Oxford in 1497.† It was probably by his advice and that of other learned friends, assisted by his own taste, that More was led not to neglect the Greek language in his classical education, for it was not commonly studied then in our country. He acquired it, we are told,‡ under the auspices of William Grocyn, at that time professor or public teacher of Greek at Oxford, and Thomas Linacer the celebrated physician; and he continued to be a warm friend to the cultivation of that noble language, as we shall find by his letter on the subject to the university of Oxford.

Wolsey also, was at this time bursar of Magdalen college, and, as well as Colet and Pace, probably enjoyed the

* Edit. Roper. † Jortin. ‡ Erasmus, ep. 511.

intimacy of More and Erasmus. He was as yet too young and humble to have materially manifested the character of *the cardinal;* and it is probable that More in early life conceived too favourable an opinion of Wolsey, which we know that his friend Erasmus certainly had done.

At the age of eighteen More is said to have written some 1498
of his epigrams, and to have continued to utter, in the manner we have already seen, many reflections on the vanity of this life, not commonly made at his age. By way of exercise he translated the Tyrannicida of Lucian into Latin, which he called his *first fruit* of the Greek language. He also wrote a declamation in answer to this piece, with such force of argument, saith his partial great-grandson, that it seemeth not to give place to Lucian either in invention or eloquence.

From the university, which, according to the same writer, 1499
he must have quitted in 1499, he removed to New-inn to study law; where, saith Roper, *he very well prospered for his time*, and was soon afterward admitted of Lincoln's-inn. At this age his father allowed him so little money that he could not dress with decency, and exacted from him a most particular account of his expences. Yet this conduct was applauded by More in his riper years, as having preserved him from idleness, gaming, bad company, and vice in general.

Having been reader at Furnival's-inn, by Roper's ac-

count, above three years, More must have obtained that
1500. situation about 1500. For some time he also read a public lecture on S^t. Austin de civitate Dei, in the church of S^t. Lawrence in the Old Jewry; *whereunto there resorted,* saith his son-in-law, *Dr. Grocyn an excellent cunning man, and all the chief learned of the city of London.* We also learn from Erasmus that More had a numerous auditory at this lecture, and that neither priests nor old men were ashamed or repented of having derived sacred wisdom from the young layman.*

1503. The death of Elizabeth, queen to Henry VII, in 1503, afforded More another occasion for the exercise of his juvenile muse. The following curious specimen of the poetry and language of that age, is extracted from his English works.

---

'A rueful Lamentation written by Mr. Thomas More in his youth, of the death of queen Elizabeth, mother to king Henry VIII, wife to king Henry VII, and eldest daughter to king Edward IV; which queen Elizabeth died in childbed, in February in the year of our Lord 1503, and in the 18^th year of the reign of king Henry VII.

* Epist. to Hutten.

O! ye that put your trust and confidence
In worldly joy and frail prosperity,
That so live here as ye should never hence,
Remember death and look here upon me;
Ensample I think there may no better be.
Yourself wot well that in this realm was I
Your queen but late, and lo now here I lie

Was I not born of old worthy lineage,
Was not my mother queen, my father king,
Was I not a king's fare in marriage,
Had I not plenty of every pleasant thing
Merciful God, this is a strange reckoning
Riches, honour, wealth, and ancestry,
Hath me forsaken, and lo now here I lie.

If worship might have kept me, I had not gone,
If wit might have me saved, I needed not fear,
If money might have holpe, I lacked none,
But O! good God, what vaileth all this gear?
When Death is come thy mighty messenger,
Obey we must, there is no remedy,
Me hath he summoned, and lo now here I lie.

Yet was I late promised otherwise,
This year to live in wealth and delice;
Lo whereto cometh thy blandishing promise,
O! false astrology and devinatrice,
Of God's secrets making thyself so wise;
How true is for this year thy prophecy,
The year yet lasteth, and lo now here I lie.

O brittle wealth, aye full of bitterness,
Thy single pleasure doubled is with pain;
Account my sorrow first and my distress,
In sundrywise, and reckon thereagain
The joy that I have had, and I dare sayne,
For all my honour, endured yet have I
More woe than wealth, and lo now here I lie.

Where are our castles now, where are our towers?
Goodly Richmond soon art thou gone from me;
At Westminster, that costly work of yours,
Mine own dear lord, now shall I never see.
Almighty God vouchsafe to grant that ye
For you and your children well may edify!
My palace builded is, and lo now here I lie.

Adieu mine own dear spouse, my worthy lord,
The faithful love that did us both combine,
In marriage and peaceable concord
Into your handes here I clean resign,
To be bestowed upon your children and mine.
Erst were you father, and now must you supply
The mother's part also, for lo now here I lie.

Farewell my daughter, Lady Margaret,
God wot full oft it grieved hath my mind,
That you should go where we should seldom meet,
Now am I gone and have left you behind.
O mortal folk that we be, very blind!
*That* we least fear, full oft it is most nigh,
From you depart I first, and lo now here I lie.

Farewell Madam, my lord's worthy mother,
Comfort your son and be you of good cheer,
Take all a worth, for it will be none other.
Farewell my daughter Catharine, late the fare
To prince Arthur, mine own child so dear.
It booteth not for me to weep or cry,
Pray for my soul, for lo now here I lie.

Adieu Lord Henry, my loving son adieu,
Our Lord increase your honour and estate.
Adieu my daughter Mary, bright of hue,
God make you virtuous, wise and fortunate.
Adieu sweet heart, my little daughter Kate,
Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
Thy mother never know, for lo now here I lie.

Lady Cicyly, Anne, and Catharine,
Farewell my well-beloved sisters three.
O! Lady Bridget, other sister mine,
Lo here the end of worldly vanity!
Now well are ye that earthly folly flee,
And heavenly thinges love and magnify.
Farewell and pray for me, for lo now here I lie.

Adieu my lords, adieu my ladies all,
Adieu my faithful servants every chone,
Adieu my commons, whom I never shall
See in this world; wherefore to the alone
Immortal God, verily three and one,
I me commend; thy infinite mercy
Shew to thy servant, for lo now here I lie.'

The religion which then reigned in our country had already made a very powerful impression on the mind of More, and he discovered about his present age of twenty-three, some inclination for the monastic state. He lived four years near the Charter-house, and without a vow frequented daily the spiritual exercises of the Carthusians. Once he inclined to become a Franciscan friar, and is said to have been deterred from his purpose only by observing that the *strictness* formerly prevalent in this country had been considerably abated. After this he had an intention of becoming a priest in association with his faithful companion William Lilly; but God, exclaims his great-grandson, had allotted him to another estate—not to live in solitude, but to be a pattern to the married in bringing-up their children, in loving their wives, and devoting every endeavour to the good of their country; yet excelling withal in piety, charity, humility, obedience, and chastity.

1506. In 1506, Erasmus was in England and dedicated the Tyrannicida of Lucian, as well as a declamation of his own in answer to it, to Richard Whitford, chaplain to bishop Fox. The high opinion he had already formed of More, whose declamation on the same subject hath been before noticed, we find thus strongly expressed in that dedication. —*Latine declamare cœpi, idque impulsore Thoma Moro, cujus uti scis tanta est facundia, ut nihil non possit persuadere vel hosti; tanta autem hominem caritate complector, ut etiam si saltare me, restimque ductare jubeat, sim non gravatim ob-*

*temperaturus.—Neque enim arbitror, nisi me vehemens in illum fallit amor, unquam naturam finxisse ingenium hoc uno præsentius, promptius, oculatius, argutius, breviterque dotibus omnigenis absolutius. Accedit lingua ingenio par, tum morum mira festivitas, salis plurimum sed candidi duntaxat, ut nihil in eo desideres quod ad absolutum pertineat patronum.*

From the same great scholar we learn that More could not shake-off his inclination for marriage, and he therefore preferred being a chaste husband to an impure priest.* He held in view at this time, it is said, as a pattern of life, the virtuous and learned Johannes Picus of Mirandula, whose life, letters, and precepts he translated into English, and published them.† For his *ghostly-father*, adds his great-grandson, he chose Colet, Dean of St. Pauls; whose celebrated foundation of St. Paul's school More compares in one of his letters to the horse of Troy, from which many issued to subvert and overthrow ignorance and barbarity.

Stapleton hath preserved a letter from More to Colet, which confirms the respect in which he held the dean, and is a good picture of the state of his own mind at this time. It is here translated.

THOMAS MORE TO DEAN COLET.

'As I was walking lately in Westminster-hall, and musing upon other people's affairs, I encountered your boy. When I first saw him I rejoiced, for he was alway a favourite of

* Epist. to Hutten. † Eng. Works.

mine, but more especially because I thought he could not be here without you. But when I learnt from him that you were not returned, and would be absent for a long time, I cannot express to you from what joy into what sadness I was cast.

'For what can be more grievous to me than to be deprived of your sweet intercourse, whose most wise advice I was accustomed to enjoy, with whose most delightful familiarity to be recreated, by whose impressive discourses I have been roused to goodness, by whose life and example I have been amended, lastly, in whose very countenance and approbation I have found contentment. Having under such auspices once felt strength and confidence, deprived of them I naturally feel as it were in the wide world and unsupported. And as lately, treading in your footsteps, I had escaped almost from the jaws of hell, now again like Euridice, but by a contrary law (she, because Orpheus looked back upon her, I, because you look not back upon me), I relapse, I know not by what impulse or necessity, into my former obscurity.

'For what is there in this town to incite any one to a good life? Or rather, what is there which doth not, by a thousand devices and allurements, draw him from the arduous path of virtue, would his disposition guide him never so well in it? Wherever you go what do you hear but, in one place, the hum of feigned attachment or the honied poison of flattery, in another, fierce hatreds, quarrels, strife, and

litigation? Wherever you cast your eyes, what can you see but victualling-houses, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, puddingmakers, fishers or fowlers, who administer to the belly, the world, and its prince the devil. The very houses seize a good part of our light and suffer us not to behold the sky; and it is the altitude of our buildings, not the extent of our horizon, which boundeth our view.

'From these causes I can the more readily forgive your loving to abide still in the country. There you have simplicity, free from city craft. Wherever you turn your eye the face of earth cheereth your view, the grateful temperature of the air refresheth, the very aspect of heaven delighteth you. Nothing occurs there to your view save the bounteous gifts of nature and tokens of sacred innocence. Yet would I not have you so enamoured of these delights as not to return to us as soon as you can. If the city displease you, yet Stepney (of which you are bound to be also solicitous) may afford you comforts equal to those you now enjoy. And thence you can occasionally visit the city, in which you have so great opportunities for the exercise of your goodness.

'For since those in the country are harmless in themselves, or at least liable to less wickedness, any physician will answer there. But from the height and inveteracy of the disorder in town, any but the most skilful shall attempt the cure in vain. It is true, there sometimes come into the pulpit of St. Paul's those who promise a cure. But af-

ter having appeared to preach with plausibility, their life is so much at variance with their precepts, that they heighten more than they alleviate the complaint. Being themselves sickest of any, they cannot persuade others that they are fit persons to cure them; for to be handled by the diseased, fills the diseased only with contempt and aversion.

"But if (as the wise affirm) he is fittest to restore health in whom the sick hath most confidence, who can doubt that no one is so fit to cure the whole town as yourself? By whom, with what satisfaction they suffer their wounds to be handled, what confidence and obedience they shew you, you have already sufficiently experienced; and it is now farther manifested by the love of all toward you, and the certain incredible anxiety which prevails for your return. Come then at length my dear Colet, either for your Stepney's sake, which bewaileth your absence day by day as doth a child its mother, or for your country's sake which you ought to regard as a parent! Lastly, though this be the least motive for your return, come for my sake, who have devoted myself to you, and await your coming with impatience. Meanwhile I pass my time with Grocyn, Linacer, and Lilly. The first, as you know, is sole master of my life in your absence; the second, the preceptor of my studies; the third, my dearest companion in all I undertake.

"Farewell, and continue to love me as you have done."

Colet in his turn admired his disciple, and would sometimes say, England had but one wit, and that was young Thomas More.*

In a letter to Jodocus Jonas, Erasmus hath made Colet's eulogium, and with it the panegyric of Vitriarius, a franciscan. The characters of these eminent men, drawn by so great a master, deserve perusal; and if Erasmus hath not given the reins a little to his imagination and embellished his subject, it is no wonder that he so sincerely loved and admired them. They were excellent ecclesiastics, with a largeness of mind, a solidity of judgment, and a freedom of thought and speech, far beyond their contemporaries, very few excepted. In many things they bore no small resemblance to Erasmus himself.†

Colet it seems advised More to marry.‡

In the number of More' friends was John Colte, Esq. of Newhall in Essex, a gentleman of good family, and who had frequently invited More to visit him. The invitation, it seems, was at last accepted, and it proved that Mr. Colte had three daughters *whose honest conversation and virtuous education*, if we believe Mr. Roper, or perhaps we may suggest some other attractions more current with youth, fixed his affections in that family. On this occasion More gave a remarkable instance of that peculiarity of character which distinguished him through life. His natural predi-

* More. † Jortin. ‡ More.

lection was in favour of the second daughter; *yet when he considered,* saith Roper, *that it would be both great grief and some shame to the eldest, to see her younger sister preferred before her in marriage, he then of a certain pity framed his fancy to her, and soon after married her.*

It is to be wished that Mr. Roper had made use of almost any other expression than *pity*, in this passage. It appears to be perfectly within the compass of More's very peculiar character, that feeling for the disappointment which the elder sister might experience in finding her younger sister preferred to her in marriage, he might, before he suffered his heart to become too deeply engaged by the second, endeavour at least to appreciate with candour and affection every excellence which he could discover in the elder. Upon such a *closer* view of the merit which she proved herself in the end to have possessed, it is possible that he may have seen sufficient reason to satisfy his inclination of acting with what he in this case judged *propriety*, though the occasion, it is true, was a singular one for the exercise of a lukewarm principle.

Erasmus informs us that she was a very young girl, who had never quitted her parents and sisters in the country. This, he adds, was the more agreeable to his friend, as he had better prospect of forming her to his own manners; and he even took much pains in her education.

[1] Epist. to Hutten.

As More lived four years among the Carthusians, we may date this marriage 1507, when he was twenty-seven years of age. By this wife Jane, who survived their union only about six years, he had issue, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cecilia, and John; *in virtue and learning*, saith Mr. Roper, *brought-up from their youth; whom he would often exhort to take virtue and learning for their meat, and play for their sauce.* Upon his marriage he appears to have taken a house in Bucklersbury, and to have renewed with assiduity his application to the law.* 1507.

The year after More's marriage, Erasmus dedicated to him his celebrated Praise of Folly, on which occasion, as before to Whitford, the scholar highly compliments his friend. Bayle, and after him Jortin and others, appears to be mistaken in dating this admired piece two years later, and in saying it was written under More's roof; as may be seen by the dedication itself.† 1508.

Edward IV died in More's infancy; the short reigns of Edward V and Richard III followed, and afforded him in more advanced years a subject for historical composition; Henry VII had now filled the throne for twenty-three years, and his death approached. It requires no great sagacity to discover, that to keep the crown which singular good fortune had given him, and to accumulate riches, were the darling objects of this monarch's reign. The love of ac-

* Roper.

† Jortin, Life Eras. 4to. i, 35. and ii, 169, contradicts himself.

cumulation appears indeed to have been instinctive in his character, and time discovered that though Cardinal Morton and Bray could not extinguish this propensity, they were not without their endeavours in tempering it. Empson and Dudley, their followers, whose reputation had no better basis than their servility, on the contrary, not only seconded but inflamed this humour in Henry, and they led the king to those extremities, which clouded his death with remorse, and found sufficient employment for his successor in assuaging them.

On wise considerations Henry had resolved to unite himself closely with Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile and Arragon, and with the house of Burgundy against France, the constant and dangerous enemy of England. A match was therefore agreed to, between Arthur prince of Wales and Catharine the infanta of Spain; whose eldest sister being married to Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders, a triple alliance was formed between England, Spain, and Burgundy, against France. Two hundred thousand ducats, the largest portion given for many ages with any princess, made her *no less* acceptable to Henry VII.

Five months, however, had only elapsed since the marriage, when prince Arthur died; and it proved, that his widow was not in a state of pregnancy. The reasons of state for preserving the alliance against France still existing, and Henry feeling no inclination to *refund* the jointure, it was proposed that Arthur's brother Henry, now prince of

Wales and about twelve years of age, should be contracted to Catharine. The good Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, acknowledged to the king that he thought the step *neither honourable nor pleasing in the sight of God.* But Fox, bishop of Winchester, urged it, and the pope's dispensation surmounted every objection.

It was no great wonder that the pope readily granted what was so much for the interest of the papacy, though some cardinals and divines opposed it. Julius II was an enemy to Lewis XII, and wished to strengthen alliances against him. Moreover, his consent on this occasion obliged, as he thought, the succeeding kings of England to maintain the papal authority, since from it they derived their title to the crown. But it is remarkable that by a mightier decree than that of any temporal power, this act of Julius, instead of strengthening, occasioned the very extirpation of the papal dominion in this country.

Upon this bull Henry and Catharine were contracted. But there is reason to believe, that though he had approved it as a politician, Henry VII repented of this step before he died.

More incurred Henry VII.'s displeasure, who wanted to ruin him. He had been elected a burgess (by what means doth not appear) and sat in the parliament in which Henry, yielding to his ruling passion, demanded a subsidy for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the king of Scotland,

rather in a view to his own emolument than to the repayment of the dower which he had given with his child. On this occasion More gave an admirable instance of his integrity, patriotism, and courage, by the strength with which he argued against the demand at that early age, undismayed by the servile senate which surrounded him. Mr. Tyler, a gentleman of the privy-chamber who was present at the debate, hastened to inform the king that a beardless boy had frustrated his purpose, and Henry, incensed by such an opposition to the darling propensity of his mind, determined to lose no opportunity of revenge. The means he employed were worthy of his avarice and rapacity; and unworthy of his princely station. More's poverty excluding him from a reasonable prospect of gratification, the king devised a groundless quarrel with his father, and Sir John More was imprisoned in the Tower until he had paid a fine of one hundred pounds.

More, shortly after this, met bishop Fox, a privy-counsellor, who called him aside, and, pretending great kindness, promised that if More would be guided by his advice he should soon be restored to the king's favour. But it afterward appeared, that the prelate's design was to inveigle More into a confession of his offence, that a punishment might be inflicted upon him with the semblance of justice. More had, however, the prudence or good fortune to escape this snare. Whitford, the bishop's chaplain, was More's intimate friend. On consulting him, he advised More by no means to follow Fox's counsel, *for my Lord, to serve the*

*king's turn, will not stick to agree to his own father's death.* More, of course, returned not to the bishop.*

His abode in England was indeed rendered so unpleasant to him by the king's anger, that he meditated a voyage abroad, a design which was prevented by the death of Henry VII in 1509.† In the interval he lived in retirement, yet, as might be expected from a mind like More's, not without profiting of the occasion by the cultivation of his intellectual talents. We are told that he studied the French language, history, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, and became a practical proficient on the violin.‡ His chief assistant in these pursuits was, probably, his extraordinary memory, to which, he once expresseth a wish that his wit and learning were equal.§

In his English works are preserved four more *things which Mayster Thomas More wrote in his youth for his pastime*, and which therefore belong to the present chapter. The first of them hath been supposed to have suggested to the celebrated Cowper the idea of his popular tale John Gilpin; but Mr. Hayley, the poet's biographer, disavows the claim, on grounds which perhaps many readers will deem sufficiently satisfactory. This piece proves, what an attentive reader will, in perusing our old writers, frequently remark, that the familiar and colloquial part of our language, being disused among those classes which had no ambition of

* Roper and More. † Roper. ‡ More. § Epist. pref. to Utopia.

refinement or affectation of novelty, hath suffered very little change.* Our language was then in a great degree formed and settled; and it appears from Ben Jonson that More's poems, as well as his prose, were considered by his contemporaries as models of elegance and purity in language, though in general, like all the compositions of his age, they are censurable on the score of languor and diffuseness. The three last of these pieces recommend themselves more peculiarly to our notice on the present occasion, from the picture they afford us of the early impressions of More's mind.

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**A merry Jest,** *how a Serjeant would learn to play the Friar.*

Wise men alway
Affirm and say,
That best 'tis for a man,
Diligently
For to apply
The business that he can

And in no wise
To enterprise
Another faculty,
For he that will
And can no skill
Is never like to theeh.†

* Johnson. † Thrive.

He that hath left
The hosier's craft,
And falleth to making shone,
The smith that shall
To painting fall,
His thrift is well-nigh done.

A black draper
With white paper,
To go to writing school,
An old butler
Become a cutler,
I ween shall prove a fool.

And an old trot,
That can God wot
Nothing but kiss the cup,
With her physic
Will keep one sick
Till she have soused him up.

A man of law,
That never saw
The ways to buy and sell,
Weening to rise
By merchandise,
I pray God speed him well.

A merchant eke
That will go seek,
By all the means he may,
To fall in suit
Till he dispute
His money clean away;

Pleading the law
For every straw,
Shall prove a thrifty man
With 'bate and strife,
But by my life
I cannot tell you whan.

When an hatter
Will go smatter
In philosophy,
Or a pedlar
Were a meddler
In theology,

All that ensue
Such craftes new,
They drive so far a cast,
That evermore
They do therefore
Beshrew themselves at last.

This thing was tried
And verified
Here by a serjeant late
That thriftly was,
Ere he could pass,
Rapped about the pate,

While that he would
See how he could
In God's name play the frere;
Now if you will
Know how it fell
Take heed and you shall hear.

It happed so
Not long ago
A thrifty man there died,
An hundred pound
Of nobles round,
That had he laid aside.

His son he would
Should have this gold
For to begin withal;
But to suffice
This child, well thrice
That money was too small.

Yet ere this day
I have heard say,
That many a man certes
Hath with good cast
Been rich at last,
That hath begun with less.

But this young man
So well began
His money to employ,
That certainly
His policy,
*To see it was a joy.*

For lest some blast
Might overcast
His ship, or by mischance,
Men with some wile
Might him beguile
And 'minish his substance,

For to put out
All manner doubt,
He made a good purvey
For ev'ry whit
By his own wit
And took another way.

First fair and well
Thereof much deal
He digg'd it in a pot,
But then he thought
That way was nought
And there he left it not.

So was he fain
From thence again
To put it in a cup;
And by and by
Covetously
He supped it fairly-up.

In his own breast
He thought it best
His money to inclose,
Then wist he well
Whatever fell
He could it never lose.

He borrow'd then
Of other men
Money and merchandise,
Never paid it,
Up he laid it
In like manner wise.

Yet on the gear
That he would wear
He rought not what he spent,
So it were nice,
As for the price
Could him not miscontent. . .

With lusty sport
And with resort
Of joly company
In mirth and play
Full many a day
He lived merrily.

And men had sworn
Some man is born
To have a lucky hour,
And so was he,
For such degree
He gat and such honour,

That without doubt
When he went out,
A serjeant well and fair
Was ready strait
On him to wait
As soon as on the may'r;

But he doubtless
Of his meekness
Hated such pomp and pride
And would not go
Companied so
But drew himself aside.

To Saint Cath'rine
Strait as a line
He gat him at a tide,
For devotion
Or promotion
There would he needs abide.

There spent he fast
Till all was past
And to him came there many
To ask their debt
But none could get
The value of a penny.

With visage stout
He bare it out
Even unto the hard hedge,
A month or twain,
Till he was fain
To lay his gown to pledge.

Then was he there
In greater fear
Than ere that he came thither,
And would as fain
Depart again
But that he wist not whither.

Then after this
To a friend of his
He went, and there abode,
Whereas he lay
So sick alway
He might not come abroad.

It happed than
A merchant man
That he ow'd money to
Of 'an officer
Then 'gan enquire
What him was best to do.

And he ans'red
" Be not afraid
Take an action therefore
I you behest,
I shall him 'rest
And then care for no more."

I fear quoth he
It will not be
For he will not come out.
The sergeant said
" Be not afraid
It shall be brought about.

In many a game
Like to the same
Have I been well in ure,
And for your sake
Let me be bake
But if I do this cure."

Thus part they both,
And forth then go'th
Apace this officer
And for a day
All his array
He changed with a frere,

So was he dight
That no man might
Him for a frere deny
He dopp'd and dook'd
He spake and look'd
So religiously.

Yet in a glass
Ere he would pass
He toted and he peer'd
His heart for pride
Lept in his side
To see how well he frer'd.

Then forth apace
Unto the place
He goeth in God's name
To do this deed;
But now take heed,
For here begins the game.

He drew him nigh
And softily
Straight at the door he knock'd
And a damsel
That heard him well
There came and it unlock'd.

The friar said
God speed fair maid
Here lodgeth such a man
It is told me;
Well Sir, quoth she,
And if he do what than?

Quoth he, mistress
No harm doubtless,
It 'longeth for our order
To hurt no man,
But as we can
Every wight to farther.

With him truly
Fain speak would I.
Sir, quoth she, by my fai
He is so sick
You be not like
To speak with him to-day.

Quoth he, fair mai
Yet I you pray
This much at my desire
Vouchsafe to do,
As go him to
And say an Austin friar

Would with him speak
And matters break
For his avail certain.
Quoth she, I will
Stand you here still
Till I come down again.

Up did she go
And told him so
As she was bid to say.
He mistrusting
No manner thing
Said, maiden go thy way

And fetch him hither
That we together
May talk. Adown she go'th.
Up she him brought.
No harm she thought
But it made some folk wroth.

This officer
This feigned frere
When he was come aloft
He dopped than
And greet this man
Religiously and oft.

And he again
Right glad and fain
Took him there by the hand,
The friar then said,
You be dismay'd
With trouble I understand.

Indeed, quoth he,
It hath with me
Been better than it is.
Sir, quoth the frere,
Be of good cheer,
Yet shall it after this.

For Christ his sake
Look that you take
No thought within your breast;
God may turn all,
And so he shall
I trust, unto the best.

But I would now
Commune with you,
In counsel if you please,
Or elles not,
Of matters that
Shall set your heart at ease.

Down went the maid,
The merchant said
Now say-on gentle frere,
Of this tiding
That you me bring
I long full sore to hear.

When there was none
But they alone
The friar with evil grace
Said, I 'rest thee,
Come on with me,
And out he took his mace.

Thou shalt obey
Come on thy way
I have thee in my clutch
Thou go'st not hence
For all the pence
The may'r hath in his pouch.

This merchant there,
For wrath and fear
He waxing-well nigh wood,
Said, whoreson thief,
With a mischief,
Who hath taught thee thy good

And with his fist
Upon the list
He gave him such a blow
That backward down
Almost in swoon
The friar did overthrow.

Yet was this man
Well fearder than
Lest he the fri'r had slain
Till with good raps
And heavy claps
He dawde him up again.

The friar took heart
And up he start
And well he laid about
And so there go'th
Between them both
Many a lusty clout.

They rent and tear
Each others hair
And clave together fast
Till with lugging
And with tugging
They fell down both at last.

Then on the ground
Together round
With many a sad stroke
They roll and rumble,
They turn and tumble
As pigs do in a poke.

So long above
They heave and shove
Together, that at last
The maid and wife
To break the strife
Hied them upward fast.

And when they spy
The captains lie
Both weltring on the place
The friar's hood
They pull'd agood
Adown about his face.

While he was blind
The wench behind
Lent him laid on the floor
Many a joll
About the noul
With a great battledoor.

The wife came yet
And with her feet
She holpe to keep him down
And with her rock
Many a knock
She gave him on the crown.

They laid his mace
About his face
That he was wood for pain
The friar frap
Gat many a swap
Till he was full nigh slain.

Up they him lift
And with ill thrift
Headlong along the stair
Down they him threw
And said *adieu*,
*Commend us to the may'r*.

The friar arose
But I suppose
Amazed was his head
He shook his ears
And from great fears
He thought him well afled.

Quoth he, now lost
Is all this cost
We be never the near,
Ill must he theeh
That caused me
To make myself a frere.

Now masters all
Here now I shall
End there as I began,
In anywise
I would advise
And counsel ev'ry man,

His own craft use
All new refuse
And lightly let them gone
Play not the frere;
Now make good cheer
And welcome ev'ry chone.

## The words of Fortune *to the People.*

Mine high estate, power, and authority
If ye ne know, ensearch and ye shall spy
That riches, worship, wealth, and dignity
Joy, rest, and peace, and all things finally
That any pleasure or profit may come by
To man his comfort, aid, and sustenance,
Is all at my devise and ordinance.

Without my favour there is nothing won,
Many a matter have I brought at last
To good conclude that fondly was begun,
And many a purpose, bounden sure and fast
With wise provision, I have overcast.
Without good hap there may no wit suffice,
Better 'tis to be fortunate than wise!

And therefore have there some men been ere this
My deadly foes, and written many a book
To my dispraise. And other cause there n'is
But for me list not friendly on them look.
Thus like the fox they fare, that once forsook
The pleasant grapes, and 'gan for to defy them
Because he lept and yet could not come by them.

But let them write, their labour is in vain;
For well ye wot, mirth, honour, and riches
Much better is than penury and pain.
The needy wretch that ling'reth in distress
Without my help, is ever comfortless,
A very burden, odious and loath
To all the world, and eke to himself both.

But he that by my favour may ascend
To mighty pow'r and excellent degree,
A commonweal to govern and defend,
O! in how bless'd condition standeth he,
Himself in honour and felicity,
And over that, may farther and encrease
A region whole in joyful rest and peace.

Now in this point there is no more to say,
Each man hath of himself the governance;
Let every wight then follow his own way.
And he that out of poverty and mischance
List for to live, and will himself enhance
In wealth and riches, come-forth and wait on me;
And he that will be a beggar, let him be.'

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'Thomas Pore *to them who trust in Fortune.*

Thou that art proud of honour, shape, or kin,
That heapest-up this wretched world its treasure,
Thy fingers shrin'd with gold, thy tawny skin
With fresh apparel garnish'd out of measure,
And weenest to have Fortune at thy pleasure;
Cast-up thine eye, and look how slipp'ry chance
Illudeth her men with change and variance.

Sometime she look'th as lovely, fair, and bright
As goodly Venus, mother of Cupid,
She becketh and she smil'th on every wight;
But this chear feigned may not long abide,
There com'th a cloud, and farewell all our pride.
Like any serpent she beginn'th to swell
And look'th as fierce as any fury of hell.

Yet for all that, we brittle men are fain,
So wretched is our nature and so blind,
As soon as fortune list to laugh again
With fair countenance and deceitful mind,
To crouch and kneel and gape after the wind;
Not one or twain, but thousands in a rout,
Like swarming bees, come flickering her about.

Then as a bait she bringeth forth her ware,
Silver and gold, rich pearl and precious stone,
On which the amazed people gaze and stare
And gape therefore as dogs do for a bone.
Fortune at them laugheth, and in her throne
Amid her treasure and wavering riches
Proudly she heaveth as lady and empress.

Fast by her side doth weary Labour stand
Pale Fear also, and sorrow all bewept,
Disdain and Hatred on that other hand
Eke restless watch, from sleep with travail kept,
His eyes drowsy and looking as he slept.
Before her standeth Danger and Envy,
Flatt'ry, Deceit, Mischief, and Tyranny.

About her cometh all the world to beg;
He asketh land; and He to pass would bring
This toy and that, and all not worth an egg;
He would in love prosper above all thing;
He kneeleth down and would be made a king;
He forceth not so he may money have,
Tho' all the world account him for a knave.

Lo thus ye see, divers heads divers wits,
Fortune, alone as divers as they all,
Unstable, here and there among them flits,
And at a venture down her gifts they fall ;
Catch whoso may, she throweth great and small,
Not to all men as cometh sun or dew,
But for the most part, all among a few.

And yet, her brittle gifts long may not last.
He that she gave them looketh proud and high,
She whirl'th about and pluck'th away as fast
And giv'th them to another by and by.
And thus from man to man continually
She us'th to give and take, and slily toss
One man to winning of another's loss.

And when she robbeth one, down go'th his pride,
He weep'th and wail'th and curseth her full sore.
But he who receiv'th it on t'other side
Is glad and bless'th her oftentimes therefore.
But in a while, when she lov'th him no more,
She glideth from him, and her gifts they too,
And he her curseth as other fools do.

Alas ! the foolish people cannot cease,
Nor 'void her train till they the harm do feel,
About her alway busily they press ;
But Lord ! how he doth think himself full well
That may set once his hand upon her wheel.
He holdeth fast ; but upward as he sty'th,
She whipp'th her wheel about, and there he li'th

Thus fell Julius from his mighty power,
Thus fell Darius, the worthy king of Perse,
Thus fell Alexander, the great conqueror,
Thus many more than I may well rehearse.
Thus double Fortune, when she list reverse
Her slipp'ry favour from them that in her trust,
She fli'th her way and li'th them in the dust.

She suddenly enhanceth them aloft
And suddenly mischieveth all the flock,
The head that late lay easily and full soft
Instead of pillows li'th after on the block,
And yet, alas the most cruel proud mock
The dainty mouth that ladies kissed have
She bringeth in the case to kiss a knave.

In changing of her course the change shew'th this,
Up start'th a knave and down there fall'th a knight,
The beggar-rich and the rich man poor is,
Hatred is turned to love, love to despight;
This is her sport, thus proveth she her might.
Great boast she mak'th if one be by her pow'r
Wealthy and wretched both within an hour.

Poverty, that of her gifts will nothing take,
With merry cheer looketh upon the press
And seeth how Fortune's household go'th to wrec
Fast by her standeth the wise Socrates,
Aristippus, Pythagoras, and many a leash
Of old philosophers. And eke against the sun
Baketh him poor Diogenes in his tun.

With her is Bias, whose country lack'd defence
And whilom of their foes stood so in doubt
That each man hastily 'gan to carry thence
And asked him, why he nought carried out?
*I bear*, quoth he, *all mine with me about.*
Wisdom he meant, not Fortune's brittle fees,
For nought he counted his which he might leese.

Heraclitus eke list fellowship to keep
With glad poverty. Democritus also.
Of which the first can never cease but weep
To see how thick the blinded people go,
With labour great, to purchase care and woe.
That other laugh'th to see the foolish apes
How earnestly they walk about their japes.*

Of this poor sect it is common usage,
Only to take *that* nature may sustain,
Banishing clean all other surplusage
They be content and of nothing complain.
No niggard eke is of his good so fain
But they more pleasure have a thousand fold
The secret draughts of nature to behold.

Set Fortune's servants by them an ye will,
That one is free, that other ever thrall,
That one content, that other never full,
That one in surety, t'other like to fall.
Who list to advise them both, perceive he shall
As great diff'rence between them, as we see
Betwixt wretchedness and felicity.

Now have I shew'd ye both, choose which ye list,
Stately Fortune or humble poverty;
That is to say, now li'th it in your fist
To take here bondage or free liberty.
But in this point an ye do after me,
Draw ye to Fortune, labour her to please
If that ye think yourselves too well at ease

And first upon thee lovely shall she smile
And friendly on thee cast her wandering eyes,
Embrace thee in her arms, and for a while
Put thee and keep thee in fool's paradise;
And forthwith all, whatso thou list devise,
She will thee grant it liberally perhaps,
But for all that, beware of afterclaps.

Reckon you never of her favour sure.
You may in clouds as eas'ly trace an hare,
Or in dry land cause fishes to endure,
And make the burning fire his heat to spare,
And all this world in compass to forfare,
As her to make by craft or engine stable
That of her nature is ever variable.

Serve her day and night, as reverently
Upon thy knees as any servant may,
And in conclusion, *that* thou shalt win thereby
Shall not be worth thy service I dare say.
And look yet, what she giveth thee to-day
With labour won, she shall haply to-morrow
Pluck it again out of thine hand with sorrow.

Wherefore, if thou in surety list to stand,
Take Pov'rty's part and let proud Fortune go,
Receive no thing that cometh from her hand.
Love manner and virtue, they be only tho'
Which double Fortune may not take thee fro.
Then mayst thou boldly defy her turning chance,
She can thee neither hinder nor advance.

But an thou wilt needs meddle with her treasure,
Trust not therein and spend it lib'rally,
Bear thee not proud, nor take not out of measure,
Build not thine house on high up in the sky.
None falleth far but he who climbeth high.
Remember nature sent thee hither bare,
The gifts of Fortune, count them borrowed ware.

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## Thomas Pore *to them who seek Fortune.*

Whoso delighteth to proven and assay
Of wavering Fortune the uncertain lot,
If that the answer please you not alway
Blame you not me, for I command you not
Fortune to trust; and eke full well you wot
I have of her no bridle in my fist,
She runneth loose and turneth where she list.

The rolling dice in which your luck doth stand,
With whose unhappy chance you be so wroth,
You know yourself came never in my hand.
Lo in this pond be fish and frogs they both,
Cast in your net, but be you lief or loath,
Hold you content as Fortune list assign
For it is your own fishing and not mine.

And though in one chance Fortune you offend,
Grudge not thereat but bear a merry face,
In many another she shall it amend.
There is no man so far out of her grace
But he sometime hath comfort and solace;
Nor none again so farforth in her favour
That is full satisfied with her behaviour.

Fortune is stately, solemn, proud, and high,
And riches giv'th to have service therefore.
The needy beggar catch'th an halfpenny,
Some man a thousand pounds, some less, some more.
But for all that she keepeth ever in store
From ev'ry man some parcel of his will,
That he may pray therefore and serve her still.

Some man hath good but children hath he none,
Some man hath both but he can get none health,
Some hath all three, but up to honour's throne
Can he not creep by no manner of stealth.
To some she sendeth children, riches, wealth,
Honour, worship, and rev'rence all his life,
But yet she pincheth him with a shrew'd wife.

Then forasmuch as it is Fortune's guise
To grant no man all things that he will aks,
But, as herself list order and devise,
Doth ev'ry man his part divide and tax;
I counsel ye, each one truss-up your packs
And take nothing at all, or be content
With such reward as Fortune hath you sent.

All things which in this book that you shall read,
Do as you list, there shall no man you bind
Them to believe as surely as your creed,
But notwithstanding certes in my mind
I durst well swear, s true you shall them find
In every point each answer by and by
As are the judgments of astronomy.'

# CHAP. II.

*Accession of Henry VIII.... Consummation of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon.... More re-appears in the world and writes verses on the coronation.... Anecdote of Emson and Dudley.... More's attachment to Erasmus.... He is made one of the under-sheriffs.... His high estimation as a lawyer.... He replies to Dorpius.... His second wife.... Henry desires to engage him in his service.... He accompanies Tonstall to Flanders.... His letter to Erasmus on his embassy.... Busleiden and Ægidius.... More's letter to Warham.... He pleads a cause for the pope.... I nighted, &c.... His account of his first advancement.... Henry's earlier court.... The king's intimacy with More.... Luther.... Erasmus persecuted.... More expected the reformation.... Edward Lee attacks Erasmus.... More defends him.... Brixius attacks More.... Erasmus defends him.... More's letter to the university of Oxford.... He is made speaker of the commons.... His speech on the occasion.... Anecdotes of Wolsey and More.... Wolsey wishes to send him to Spain.... Progress of Luther.... Henry writes against him, and More is suspected.... Luther's reply and Ross' rejoinder.... Erasmus writes against Luther.... More is exhorted to write.... His character in the Ciceronianus.... He is made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.... Anecdote of the king and More.... More is sent on foreign embassies.... His success at Cambray.... His loss by fire, and letter to his wife.*

FEW princes have ascended a throne with the more decided satisfaction of their subjects than did Henry VIII. In the place of a monarch sinking deeper in jealousy, avarice, and severity, as he advanced in years, men beheld a prince, young, handsome, accomplished, wealthy, and prodigal; who, in the eye of experience, gave flattering promises of future conduct, much more in that of popular enthusiasm. The nobility, humbled by the policy of his father, crowded to gain his favour and to share his profusion. The pleasures and gallantry of the age were assembled at his court. His father, to remove him from the knowledge of business, had engaged him in literature. The proficiency he made was no bad prognostic of his parts, and he became a lover of learning and the learned. His vehemence and ardour (which in time degenerated into tyranny) were interpreted as the failings of youth. The contending titles of York and Lancaster were united in him, and that impartiality of administration was expected which had long been unknown in our country. In a word, the English rejoiced in the death of Henry VII, and had great expectations from his son; but alas! he lived to disappoint these hopes and proved a tyrant.

One of the first measures which engaged the new king's attention, was the celebration of his marriage with the widow of his brother. Lord Herbert informs us that the king's graver counsellors told him, the same reasons which induced Henry VII to the match with Spain, first in the

person of Arthur, and after his premature death in young Henry's own person, were still in force; that his pretensions on France made an alliance with that power unnecessary, while they rendered the united opposition of Spain desirable; and that there were natural causes of good neighbourhood sufficient to maintain him in friendship with Maximilian the emperor.

Catharine, moreover, declared herself to be still a virgin, and had given many proofs of her virtuous and amiable character. Ferdinand, her father, had given ample commission to his ambassador here, and the lady's presence would save time as well as expence; but should she depart the kingdom, a large dower must be yearly remitted from the country. That scriptural authority might not be wanting, this passage was quoted; *If brethren dwell together and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger, her husband's brother shall go in unto her and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her: and it shall be that the first-born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel.** The dispensation formerly obtained from the pope was also urged; and in fine, about six weeks, after his father's death, the consummation of Henry's marriage took place with Catharine of Arragon, his brother's widow.

More, now about thirty years of age, re-appeared in the

* Deuter. xxv. 5.

general reanimation at the commencement of the reign in which he was destined to be so great and so unfortunate; and probably to greater advantage than before, from the cultivation of his character and his acquirements in solitude under the royal displeasure. His classical pen was called-forth on the coronation, and the poem * he wrote in Latin is an elegant compliment to Henry and his queen, and a severe satire on the reign of his rapacious father. The dedication concludes with the emphatical words *vale princeps illustrissime, et, qui novus ac rarus regum titulus est, amatissime.*

When Emson and Dudley, those vile ministers of Henry VII.'s rapacity, were leading to execution, in consequence of their attainder by the young king in his infant popularity, though at the expence of his father's fame, More, with his usual archness, though without his accustomed humanity, is said to have interrogated Dudley, *have not I done better than you?* Dudley is said to have congratulated More in reply, that he did not ask forgiveness of Henry VII as he had been advised to do.†

The character of the good Erasmus, though it was as yet but little celebrated, had, it seems, its due influence on the discernment of More. The acquaintance they had formed at college, cherished by the similarity of their minds and their studies, appears by this time to have ripened into a strong attachment, and they now corresponded by let-

* Vol. ii. of this. † More.

ter whenever they were apart from each other. When the great scholar again visited England in 1510, he is said, on his arrival, to have lodged with More. Dr. Jortin and others are, however, mistaken in ascribing to this meeting the composition of the celebrated Praise of Folly by Erasmus *in a week, to divert himself and his friend*, as we have already seen in the preceding chapter. 1510.

Soon after Henry's accession More was appointed one of the under-sheriffs of the city of London, by which office and his profession he was heard to say that he now gained, *without scruple of conscience*, above £400 per annum. There was at this time no cause of importance in which he was not retained on one side or the other; and *for his learning, wisdom, knowledge, and experience, men had such estimation*, continues Mr. Roper, *that before he came into the service of king Henry VIII, at the suit and instance of the English merchants, he was, by the king's consent, made twice ambassador in certain great causes betwixt them and the merchants of the Stilyard.* Erasmus, in his letter to Hutten, also gives us a high character of the request in which the talents of his friend were held, as well as of his integrity and moderation. Thus More, persevered for the present with assiduity in his profession, and he was twice appointed reader at Lincoln's-inn, viz. in the third and sixth years of Henry VIII. 1512. 1515.

But his heart was too disinterested, and his mind too ex-

* Roper and Dugdale.

pansive, to confine him rigidly to the duties of his profession. Thus we find him in the latter of these years enlisting in the cause of friendship and replying to Dorpius, a divine of Louvain, who had written against the Praise of Folly. While others contented themselves with reviling the good scholar over their cups or in private, Dorpius was the first who wrote against Erasmus. He condemned the Moriæ Encomium, as a satirical work in which the author ridiculed all orders and professions; not excepting even the ecclesiastics, who have commonly pretended that their function should serve them for a passport. He moreover endeavoured to dissuade Erasmus from undertaking the New Testament, but *graciously permitted him* to publish St. Jerom.

Knowing his youth and ductility, and that he had been inveigled by others into this attack, Erasmus replied with his usual mildness. He cleared-up some points to Dorpius, continued in the true charity of his heart to live on good terms with him, and even lamented his death. His friend More also replied to Dorpius in a long and laboured epistle, which is preserved among his Latin works. In this letter More proves the necessity of studying the Greek language, of which Dorpius had spoken with contempt; and he exposes in civil language the ignorance, impertinence, and malevolence of the attack upon Erasmus. Whatever motive influenced Dorpius, he was highly culpable for treating of subjects which he understood not, and for being the first in such an attack. A malignant mind and a mean

spirit must have prompted him to condemn writings which he could not imitate, and to endeavour to make the man odious who was affording the public important instruction.*

More's first wife, as we have already remarked, survived their union only about six years; and two or three years after her death,† which brings us to our present period, he married Mrs. Alice Middleton, a widow with one daughter, by whom he had no children. More used to say of this lady, that she was *nec bella, nec puella,* and the great-grandson's account of her and of her marriage with More are curious.

'This (he writes) he did not of any concupiscence, for he would often affirm that chastity is more hardly kept in wedlock than in a single life; but because she might have care of his children, which were very young, from whom of necessity he must be very often absent. She was of good years, of no good favour nor complexion, nor very rich; by disposition very near and worldly. I have heard it reported, he wooed her for a friend of his, not once thinking to have her himself. But she wisely answering him, that *he might speed if he would speak in his own behalf,* telling his friend what she had said unto him, with his good liking he married her, and did that which otherwise he would perhaps never have thought to have done. And indeed her favour, as I think, could not have bewitched, or

* Jortin. † More.

scarce ever moved any man to love her. But yet she proved a kind and careful mother-in-law to his children, as he was alway a most loving father unto them; and not only to his own, but to her daughter also, who was married to Mr. Alington and mother to Sir Giles Alington.'

The same writer informs us that More taught this wife music with a view to render her less worldly.

Wolsey was already high in dignity; and More's fame having by this time attracted Henry's attention, the king desired the cardinal to engage him also in his service. Wolsey, we are told, acted honestly at least on this occasion, and endeavoured to accomplish the king's wish. He represented to More the importance of his services, and assured him (for perhaps then he understood not Henry's character) that royal bounty could not but repay them with liberality. More was not, however, to be prevailed upon, for the present at least, to exchange the independent station which his ability as a lawyer now gave him, for that of a courtier; and the excuses he made were for this time admitted.* No man ever strove harder, says Erasmus, to gain admittance at court, than More strove to keep out of it.†

He accepted, however, a diplomatic appointment in as-
1516. sociation with Cuthbert Tonstall in the year 1516; and proceeded with him to Flanders, to meet the ambassadors of

* Roper and More. † Epist. to Hutten.

Charles prince of Castile, on affairs, as he informs * us, of no small importance. Yet even this service appears to have been protracted longer than was perfectly agreeable to More, though it produced him, on his return, the offer of a pension. To this offer, perhaps, the king's desire to retain More in his service may have materially contributed. In a letter written to Erasmus soon after his return, and preserved in his Latin works, More gives a very agreeable account of this expedition.

'Our embassy (he writes) for this too, as all else which concerneth me, interests you, hath proceeded happily enough, save that the affair was drawn into greater length than I either expected or wished. For, on leaving home, I looked for an absence of hardly two months, but consumed above six on that embassy. Yet a conclusion sufficiently agreeable was the result of this long delay. But seeing the business on which I went brought to an end, and other matters arising one out of the other which appeared the initials of still greater delay (a circumstance never wanting on diplomatic occasions), I wrote to the cardinal for leave to return, and used, among other friends, the assistance of Pace chiefly on the occasion, who had not yet left England. On my way home I met him unexpectedly at Gravelines, and in such a hurry that he could hardly stop to greet me.

'This office of ambassador never pleased me. Neither

is it likely to suit us laymen so well as it doth you ecclesiastics, who either have no wives and children at home, or find them wherever you come. We, when we have been a little while absent, long to be home again on their accounts. And again, when an ecclesiastic sets-out, he may take his whole family whither he will, and maintain them abroad at the expence of kings, when he must have done it at home at his own. But when I am absent I have two families to support, one at home and one abroad. The provision made by the king for those I took with me was sufficiently liberal; yet no regard was had to those who must be left at home, none of whom, you will conceive, I could desire to feel any want during my absence, as you know what a husband, father, and master I wish to be.

'Lastly, princes can repay such as you without any cost to themselves; but with regard to us, this is not so easy. Nevertheless, on my return, a pension would have been given me by the king (an offer, in point of honour or profit, not to be despised), but I have hitherto declined it, and think I shall continue to do so. For if I accept it, my present situation in this city, which I prefer to a higher one, must either be relinquished, or, which I should be very much against, be held with some dissatisfaction to our citizens; with whom and their prince, should any question arise as to their privileges (which sometimes occurs), they would think me less true to their cause because I was indebted to the king for my pension.

'For the rest, some occurrences in my embassy gave me peculiar delight. And first, my long and constant intercourse with Tonstall; than whom no man is better informed in every elegant attainment, no man more correct in his conduct or agreeable in his conversation. Then I formed a friendship with Busleiden, whose fortune gave him to treat me magnificently, and his goodness, courteously. The elegance of his house, his excellent domestic economy, the monuments of antiquity he possesses (in which you know I take peculiar delight), lastly, his exquisite library, and his still more eloquent breast, completely astonished me.—But in the whole of my peregrination, nothing was more agreeable to me than the company of your friend Ægidius of Antwerp; a man so learned, merry, modest, and truly friendly, that may I perish if I would not freely give a good part of my property only to enjoy constantly his intercourse.'

Hieronymus Buslidius, here alluded to, an ecclesiastic of the Low countries, died very soon after this period, and bequeathed his property to the academy of Louvain, to erect a college where Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, should be taught. This noble institution gave offence to the illiterate divines who harboured there, while Erasmus, a living water in the desert, extolled Busleiden's liberality. They are vexed, he writes, that three tongues should be in request, and had rather remain as they are, *double-tongued;* indeed there is no teaching a new language to such old parrots.*

* Epist. 358.

To Ægidius of Antwerp, also commended in this letter, More addressed his Utopia, which celebrated piece was written about this time. In the prefixed epistle the reader will find an agreeable picture of More's present avocations; but, he complains, they left him no leisure for literary pursuits.

The good Warham, choosing rather to retire from public employment than to maintain an unequal contest with Wolsey, resigned his office of chancellor. Stapleton hath preserved a letter written to him by More on this occasion, and accompanied by a copy of Utopia, which is interesting on account of the subsequent similar resignation of More. It is here translated.

*Thomas More to Archbishop Warham.*

'I have ever, good father, reckoned yours a happy lot. First, while you discharged with so much celebrity the office of chancellor, and now still happier, when, having resigned that office, you have betaken yourself to a desirable repose in which you may live to God and yourself— a repose, I say, not only more agreeable than were those occupations, but in my opinion more honourable than were all your honours. Many, and sometimes the worst of men, may be in office; you held the highest, and one which carries great authority in the execution, and which is obnoxious to sufficient calumny on the resignation of it. To lay it down then, as you did, of your own accord (the permis-

sion for which I know cost you much trouble), none but a modest man would have wished, none but an innocent one have dared.

'You have many to appreciate and admire your conduct, and myself am not among the least strenuous on this occasion. Indeed, I know not, whether most to applaud your modesty in voluntarily relinquishing so high and splendid an office, your greatness in dispising dignity, or the innocence of your administration in being fearless of the consequence. Your conduct was certainly most excellent and wise; nor can I express how strongly I congratulate this your singular felicity, how much I rejoice for you, when I see you, good father, remote from secular employment, receding from forensic tumult, enjoying the honourable fame, the rare glory, of your well administered and well-resigned office; and, joyful in the consciousness of your past life, calmly devoting your remaining time to letters and philosophy.

'My own comparative misery makes me think daily more and more of this your happy condition. For, although I have no occupations worth the naming, yet, as weakness is easily overcome, I am so busy, that I have neither time to pay my respects to you in person, nor to apologize by letter for my omission. Thus I have hardly time to write you this, with a view of recommending to your favour this ill-finished little book, which a too partial friend of Antwerp, precipitated as it was rather than polished, thought

worthy of the press and printed it without my knowledge. Although I think it unworthy of your dignity, experience, and learning, yet, satisfied as I am of your kindness and candour toward every endeavour, and having individually felt your goodness, I have the boldness to send it you; and hope, though the work prove of little worth, its author shall find some favour with you.

'Farewell most worthy prelate.'

An incident not long afterward occurred, which *drove* More into the distinction he had so studiously avoided. A valuable ship of the pope's coming into Southampton, and being claimed as prize by Henry VIII, the legate applied to the king, that his master might have counsel assigned him learned in the laws of this kingdom, to defend his cause; and, *as his majesty was himself a great civilian*, it was requested that the cause might be tried publicly, and in his presence. More had the honour of being chosen, as the properest lawyer of the time, to be counsel for the pope, and to report the arguments in Latin to the legate. A hearing of the cause was appointed before the chancellor and the judges in the star-chamber. Our advocate pleaded with so much learning and success, that not only was the ship restored to the pope, but *himself*, adds Mr. Roper, *among all the hearers, for his upright and commendable demeanour therein so greatly renowned, that for no entreaty would the king from henceforth be induced any longer to forbear his service.*

Having no better place at that time vacant, Henry at first made More Master of the Requests, and a month afterward knighted him and made him a privy-counsellor. The precise date of these honours is not very certain, but we may safely limit them to the year 1517.* Weston, 1517. treasurer of the exchequer, dying some time afterward, the king without sollicitation gave that place also to More.†

Of his first advancement the knight afterward wrote this curious account in a letter to bishop Fisher, which is here translated from Stapleton.

'I came most unwillingly to court, as every one knoweth, and as the king himself sometimes in joke tells me. And to this day I seem to sit as awkwardly there, as one who never rode before sitteth in a saddle. But our prince, though I am far from being in his especial favour, is so affable and kind to all, that every one, let him be ever so diffident, findeth some reason or other for imagining he loveth him; just as our London matrons persuade themselves that our Lady's image smileth upon them as they pray before it. I am neither so fortunate as in reality to perceive such favourable tokens, nor of so sanguine a temperament as even to flatter myself that I do so; yet such are his majesty's virtue and learning, and such his daily increasing industry, that seeing him the more and more advance in good and truly royal accomplishments, I the less and less feel this court life to hang heavily upon me.'

* Lord Herbert. † Roper.

Nor was More singular in this his favourable opinion of Henry's earlier court, although royal favour may be supposed to have had some influence upon his judgment. The fragrance of her honourable fame, saith Erasmus, smelleth sweetly everywhere; for she hath a king possessing every worthy, princely attribute, a queen his fellow, and a number of worthy, learned, sedate, and discreet subjects.*

We are now therefore to behold More in a very different situation from those in which we lately viewed him. We find him *taken* from his practice as a lawyer, and from the condition of a private gentleman, to become an officer of state and the favourite of a king—*taken* we may truly say, for he certainly acquiesced in the royal favour, rather in obedience to the king than to gratify any passion of his own for power and grandeur. His simplicity of heart probably gave him a disrelish for the courts of princes and their intrigues, and it is possible that he may have already surmised from Henry's character the probable inconstancy of his favour. Under every advancement, we shall find that he still preserved the plainness and integrity which distinguished him in private life. A superior station served but for a time to call forth his superior talents; and in the end it displayed his superiority of character under the severest of human trials.

In the first years of his promotion, we are told Henry was in the habit of frequently sending for Sir Thomas and

* Epist. to Guilford.

conferring with him in private in his closet on astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other subjects, as well as on affairs of state. They sometimes even ascended together in the night to the top of the house to observe, as well as converse of, the heavenly bodies;* a trait worthy of the early and more innocent years of Henry VIII, and a striking contrast to his subsequent character. The king holds More in such intimacy, saith Erasmus, that he never suffereth him to leave him—if he wanteth him in serious matters, he hath not a better adviser; if to relax his mind, he knoweth not a more festive companion.†

The company of Sir Thomas was indeed, it seems, so agreeable, that the king and queen frequently sent for him in the evening about this time, *to be merry with them*, saith Mr. Roper. This went so far, that the affectionate principle which the knight retained in his advancement, *I must chat with my wife and prattle with my children*,‡ was in danger of usurpation. His conversation became so entertaining to the king and queen, that he could not once in a month obtain permission to spend an evening with his family; nor could he be absent from the court two days in succession without being called for. More, however, justly considered the claims of his family in this particular as superior to those of his sovereign. Restraining, therefore, the natural vivacity of his disposition, he caused his conversation in the royal presence to become by degrees less

* Roper. † † Epist. to Hutten. ‡ Utopia.

and less attractive; and the consequence was, that his time became more his own.*

Leo X was at this time everywhere publishing his *indulgences*, to raise money under pretence, of waging war with the Turks say some, of bui ding S^t^. Peter's church say others. The dominicans being employed by him in Germany on this occasion, the augustinians, who pretended that the office belonged to them, were irritated. Martin Luther, professor of divinity at Wittenberg, and an augustinian, among others, examined this doctrine of indulgences. Finding it, as he thought, full of error, and being gifted by nature with an independence and intrepidity of character which would not allow him on such an occasion to remain a silent or inactive spectator, he publicly refuted it in 1517.

From this time, Erasmus began to be most maliciously persecuted by the ecclesiastics. They loudly complained that his bold and free censures of the monks, their pious grimaces and superstitious devotions, had opened the way for Luther. Erasmus, they said, laid the egg, and Luther hatched it. The religious disputes which opened the scene produced religious wars and cruel persecutions, a state of affairs sufficiently afflicting to More's mild and gentle friend, who often complained that his endeavours to reconcile the opposite parties, only drew upon him the resentment of both.† The minorite brethren, he said, deserved to be

* Roper. † Jortin.

complimented as wits for their joke, but he laid a hen's egg and Luther hatched a very different bird.*

With his strong attachment to the church of Rome, it seems from the following anecdote that Sir Thomas expected one day the success of the reformation in this country, and perhaps his knowledge of Henry's temper contributed to the surmise. Mr. Roper says, when he commended to More the happy estate of this realm, which had so catholic a prince that no heretic dared to shew his face, so virtuous and learned a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, and so loving, obedient subjects, all in one faith—the knight replied, *truth it is indeed son Roper*, and even exceeded him in commendation; *and yet son Roper*, he continued, *I pray God that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day that we would gladly be at league and composition with them, to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be contented to let us have ours quietly to ourselves.*

Edward Lee began also about this time to attack Erasmus, and to stir-up the divines against him. He not only treated the good scholar as one of little erudition and no judgment, but as an heretic and an enemy to the church; and did all he could to run him down and ruin him. Erasmus in return hath often said, the earth never produced an animal more vain, arrogant, scurrilous, ignorant, foolish,

* Epist. 719.

and malicious, than Lee. Yet this man was advanced at court. He was chaplain and almoner to Henry VIII, was afterward employed by the king on several embassies, and lastly, was made archbishop of York.

More, though a constant friend to Lee, was much dis-
1519. pleased at his quarrelling with Erasmus. In 1519, and subsequent years, he wrote three letters to Lee, which are reprinted by Dr. Jortin in the appendix to his life of Erasmus. They inform us that he would have dissuaded Lee from publishing his censures of his friend, that he was very sorry when they were published, that he thought him far inferior to Erasmus as well in knowledge and ability as in credit and interest with the learned world, and that he judged this exploit would draw infamy and contempt upon the writer, and even an odium upon the English. Thus our Lee (adds the Doctor), who, had he kept the fool within doors, might have passed for a tolerable divine, chose rather to purchase renown, such as it was, by heading the clamorous half-learned censurers of Erasmus and of all reformations. Among those indeed he might hope to make a figure though not among more eminent persons, and it is no wonder that an ambitious man should choose rather to be the leader of a paltry sect, than to be lost among scholars of the second or third class.

Lee was ever an enemy to the reformation, and is extolled, as might have been expected, by Wood, Stapleton,

More's great-grandson, and others. Bishop Burnet gives us a juster account of him.

Soon after this vindication of his friend, Sir Thomas was himself attacked. Brixius, or, as his contemporary Rabelais calls him, de Brie, had written a poem in 1513, intituled Chordigera, describing an action of that year between the English ship Regent and the French ship la Cordeliere. As he had given a false account of the engagement, and insulted and calumniated the English, More wrote several epigrams in derision of the poem. Brixius, picqued at the affront, revenged himself by an elegy which he intituled Antimorus, in which he severely censured all the faults which he thought he had found in the poems of More; but this piece was not published till 1520, and then at Paris *in compliance with the wishes of the author's friends.** 1520.

Erasmus, in a very good letter to Brixius, civilly, though freely, insinuated to him that he was a very child compared to More, and launched out as usual in praise of his English friend.† More at first despised the poem, and wrote to Erasmus that, to prove to the world the contempt in which he held it, he had a design of reprinting it himself.‡ He, however, afterward wrote an answer to it; which was no sooner published, than he received a letter from Erasmus, wisely exhorting him to pass the matter in silent contempt, for *that* alone was the conduct which the attack deserved. Sir Thomas soon saw his error, and, following his friend's

* La Monnoye, Menagiah iii, 115. † Epist. 511. ‡ Latin works.

advice, he immediately recalled the publication, so that very few copies of it escaped into the world.* Yet Erasmus, although he was capable of giving his friend this good advice, had certainly himself too much of this very sensibility when attacked by malicious and inconsiderable adversaries. Such characters require a friend to advise them, *leave these men to themselves, they cannot live in their own writings, why should they live in yours?* and it is, after all, no such terrible matter to be misrepresented as a dunce, when time and truth must put folly to flight.†

To this period also, Wood ascribes the proof which More gave of his zeal for learning, by his letter to the university of Oxford on the study of Greek. After Grocyn came thither to teach Greek, a serious opposition was manifested to his progress. A faction of the students, denominating themselves Trojans, and who had their Priam, Hector, Paris, &c. declared themselves enemies to what they called the new learning, and one of them had the impudence to attack the Greeks from the university pulpit. More wrote a well-timed letter‡ in Latin to the university, and observed that even Cambridge, ever her inferior as a seminary, promoted the study of Greek; that her own chancellor Warham, Cardinal Wolsey, nay the king himself, wished to encourage it; and that therefore it was probable these ridiculous Trojans, the enemies of useful learning, would in the end have the old proverb applied to themselves, *sero sapiunt Phryges.*

* More. † See Jortin. ‡ Printed at Oxford in 4to, 1633.

In the parliament holden at Blackfriars in the year 1523, 1523.
Sir Thomas More was chosen speaker. He was very desirous of being excused from this office, and addressed the king to that effect in a speech which hath not been preserved.* His remonstrance, however, proving ineffectual, he was obliged to comply, and he made the following speech upon the occasion, preserved by Mr. Roper, which is here presented to the reader as a specimen of the eloquence of the knight, and of the manner of the age.

*Sir Thomas More's Speech on being appointed Speaker.*

'Since I perceive, most redoubted sovereign, that it standeth not with your pleasure to reform this election and cause it to be changed, but have by the mouth of the most reverend father in God my lord legate, your highness' chancellor, thereunto given your royal assent, and have of your benignity determined, far above *that* I may bear, to enable me, and for this office to repute me, meet; rather than you should seem unto your commons that they had made an unfit choice, I am therefore and alway shall be ready, obediently to conform myself to the accomplishment of your highness' pleasure and commandment.

'In most humble wise beseeching your most noble majesty, that I may, with your grace's favour, before I farther enter thereinto, make my humble petition for two low-

* Roper.

ly petitions; the one privately concerning myself, the other the whole assembly of your common-house.

'For myself, gracious sovereign, that if it mishap me, in anything hereafter that is on the behalf of your commons in your high presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and, in the lack of good utterance, by my misrehearsal to pervert or impair their prudent instructions, it may then like your most noble majesty, of your abundant grace, with the eye of your wonted pity, to pardon my simpleness; giving me leave to repair again to the common-house, and there to confer with them, and to take their substantial advice, what things and in whatwise I shall on their behalf utter and speak before your noble grace, to the intent their prudent devices and affairs be not, by my simpleness and folly, hindered or impaired. Which thing, if it should so happen, as it were like to mishappen me if your gracious benignity relieved not my oversight, it could not fail to be, during my life, a perpetual grudge and heaviness to my heart. The help and remedy whereof, in manner afore remembered, is, my gracious sovereign, my first lowly suit and humble petition unto your noble grace.

'My other humble request, most excellent prince, is this. Forsomuch as there be of your commons, here by your high commandment assembled for your parliament, a great number, who are, after your accustomed manner, appointed in the common-house to entreat and advise of the common affairs among themselves apart; and albeit, most

dear leige lord, that according to your prudent advice by your honourable writs everywhere declared, there hath been as due diligence used in sending-up to your highness' court of parliament the most discreet persons out of every quarter that men could esteem most meet thereunto, whereby it is not to be doubted that there is a very substantial assembly of right wise, meet, and politic persons; yet, most virtuous prince, since among so many wise men neither is every man wise alike, nor among so many alike well witty every man alike well spoken, and it often happeneth that likewise as much folly is uttered with painted polished speech, so many boisterous and rude in language see deep indeed and give right substantial counsel; and since also in matters of great importance the mind is so often occupied in the matter that a man rather studieth what to say than how, by reason whereof the wisest man and best spoken in a whole country fortuneth, while his mind is fervent in the matter, somewhat to speak in suchwise, as he would afterward wish to have been uttered otherwise, and yet no worse will had he when he spake it, than he had when he would so gladly change it; therefore, most gracious sovereign, considering that in your high court of parliament is nothing treated but matter of weight and importance concerning your realm and your royal estate, it could not fail to let and put to silence from the giving of their advice and counsel many of your discreet commons, to the great hinderance of the common affairs, except that every one of your commons were utterly discharged of all

doubts and fears, how anything that it should happen them to speak should happen of your highness to be taken.

'And in this point, though your well-known and proved benignity putteth every man in good hope, yet such is the weight of the matter, such is the reverend dread that the timorous hearts of your natural subjects conceive toward your high majesty, our most redoubted king and undoubted sovereign, that they cannot in this point find themselves satisfied, except your gracious bounty, therein declared, put away the scruple of their timorous minds, and animate and encourage them and put them out of doubt.

'It may therefore, like your most abundant grace, our most benign and godly king, to give all your commons here assembled your most gracious licence and pardon, freely, without doubt of your dreadful displeasure, every man to discharge his conscience, and boldly, in every thing incident among us, to declare his advice. And, whatsoever happen any man to say, that it may like your majesty of your inestimable goodness to take all in good part; interpreting every man's words, how cunningly soever they be couched, to proceed yet of good zeal toward the profit of your realm and honour of your royal person; the prosperous estate and preservation whereof, most excellent sovereign, is the thing which we all, your loving subjects, according to our most bounden duty, of our natural allegiance, most highly desire and pray for.'

It is probable that the design of the knight in this speech was to remonstrate against the known haughtiness with which Henry VIII treated his parliaments; and, under colour of the profoundest awe and veneration, to reprove the sovereign for his arbitrary restraint on debate. In this point of view, the speaker manifesteth more dexterity than at first sight may appear; a compliance with his haughty humour in this submissive language, being the only manner in which the king could be reproved or thwarted with a hope of success.*

Of this parliament the following anecdote is related. Wolsey, at this time in the zenith of his greatness, had expressed his displeasure, that no sooner was anything said or done in the house of commons than it was blown abroad in every alehouse. When the large subsidy was afterward demanded, the cardinal, fearing opposition from the commons, determined to be present in their house at the time the motion should be made. A debate in consequence arose in that house, whether he should be received with a few of his lords only, or with the whole number. The majority of the house were of the former opinion; but the speaker observed with his usual archness, *forasmuch as my lord cardinal lately laid to our charges the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, pollaxes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us hereafter,*

* Warner.

*we may be the bolder from ourselves to lay the blame, on those whom his grace bringeth hither with him.*

Wolsey was received accordingly, and spoke with solemnity on the necessity of the grant. The commons heard him to an end in silence, and then made no reply. He addressed himself to some of the members in particular, but received no answer, for they had resolved to communicate with him through their speaker only. At last he demanded an answer of the speaker, *who,* continues Roper, *first reverently on his knees excusing the silence of the house, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage able to amaze the wisest in a realm, and afterward by many probable arguments proving that for them to make answer it was neither expedient, nor agreeable with the ancient liberty of the house, in conclusion for himself shewed, that though they had all with their voices trusted him, yet except every one of them could put in to his head of their several wits, he alone in so weighty a matter was unfit to make his grace answer.*

More seconded the subsidy from the beginning,* and this farce was played only upon the insolence of the cardinal; *who,* adds Mr. Roper, *displeased with Sir Thomas More who had not in this parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed.*

A few days afterward, Sir Thomas being in Wolsey's gallery at Whitehall, the latter said to him, *would God you*

* Lord Herbert.

*had been at Rome Mr. More when I made you speaker. Your grace not offended, so would I too,* replied More; *I like this gallery my lord, much better than your gallery at Hampton-court.** This perhaps broke-off a quarrel for the time, but the fact was, as Erasmus justly observes in one of his letters, that the cardinal feared the knight more than he loved him.

He gave a proof of this afterward, by his endeavour to persuade the king to send Sir Thomas to Spain as ambassador. When Henry proposed it to More, the knight, prepossessed, says Mr. Roper, that the king by sending him thither would send him to his grave, represented to his majesty how unlikely he was to render him acceptable service there, yet was ready as in duty bound to fulfil his pleasure, though at the expence of his life. *It is not our pleasure Mr. More to do you hurt, but to do you good would we be glad,* replied Henry, in the better language of his heart; *we will therefore for this purpose devise upon some other, and employ your service otherwise.*

In the meantime the intrepid Luther, pursuing the career which, as we have seen, he had commenced in 1517, had detected the corruption of the court of Rome, her obstinacy in adhering to established error, and her indifference to truth, and from uttering *some doubts* as to the divine original of the papal authority, he at last shook the firmest foundations upon which the wealth and power of the church were

* Roper,

established. Henry VIII, in addition to his rigorous acts for preventing lutheranism from invading his realm, had published a treatise against Luther which obtained him from the pope the well-known title *Defender of the faith.* From More's supposed instrumentality in this publication, we shall find that he was afterward accused as the cause of Henry putting a sword into the pope's hand to fight against himself. But the knight, we shall also find from his own letters, pleaded *not guilty* to this accusation. He owns that, by the king's appointment, and by consent of the writers, he was *a sorter-out and placer* of the principal contents of the tract; but it seems that More in fact advised Henry to insist less strenuously than he did on the pope's authority, from a foresight perhaps of the inconstancy of the monarch's character.

Luther replied to Henry, and, with his usual bluntness, treated his majesty as a liar and a blasphemer. A rejoinder appeared in the year 1523, under the name William Ross, which hath been generally ascribed to Sir Thomas, and is reprinted as his production in his Latin works. The writer, whoever he may have been, not only endeavoured to refute the arguments, but also followed in a blameable degree the too prevailing custom of the time in aiming to equal the abuse, of his adversary. The soundest sense and the strongest argument, when thus disfigured by the rancour of party spirit, and even scurrility, not only lose the weight they naturally possess, but their tendency will generally be found

to be, that they chiefly disgust the reader by the deformity of the picture with which they present him.

The good Erasmus, not gifted by nature with the courage of a martyr, probably felt his worldly interests too much at stake to allow him to enter early and with freedom into these controversies. The importunate solicitations of the Roman party induced him, however, at last, to take the field by the publication of his dissertation on freewill. This piece was written with the good scholar's usual moderation and candour; yet it produced a reply from Luther in a severe strain of ridicule and invective, in his treatise *De servo arbitrio*. Erasmus was, with sufficient reason, much provoked at a treatment so rude and unmerited, which drew from him in rejoinder the first part of his Hyperaspistes.

More's strong attachment to the church of Rome, rendered him of course no friend to the great cause. We have a letter* of his to Erasmus in 1525, containing much spite 152
and acrimony against the reformers, with pressing exhortations to him to publish the last-mentioned work. And two 152
years later, we have bishop Tonstal's licence to him for reading *heretical* books, and an exhortation to him to imitate *the great example* of his king, by employing his leisure in answering them. That this advice was not in vain, we have pretty voluminous testimonies in More's published works; but we will advert more fully to the subject of his writings in our last chapter.

* Erasm. Epist. 334.

The celebrated Ciceronianus of Erasmus, one of the most ingenious and lively of his productions, in which he agreeably rallies certain Italian purists who scrupled to use any
1528. word or phrase not to be found in Cicero, came out in 1528. The author's account of his friend More at this time is interesting.

'Fateor ingenium felicissime natum, et quod nihil non potuisset efficere si totum his studiis vacare licuisset. Cæterum, illo puero, vix tenuis odor literaturæ melioris demigrarat in Angliam. Deinde parentum auctoritas ad leges ejus gentis discendas, quibus nihil illiteratius, adegit; mox in causis agendis exercitatus, hinc ad reipublicæ munia vocatus, vix succisivis horis respicere potuit ad eloquentiæ studia. Tandem in regiam pertractus, et regni regiorumque negotiorum undis immersus, magis amare potest studia quam colere. Et tamen dicendi genus quod assequutus est, magis vergit ad Isocraticam structuram ac dialecticam subtilitatem, quam ad fusum illud Ciceronianæ dictionis flumen; quamquam urbanitate nihilo M. Tullio inferior est. Quoniam autem adolescens diu versatus est in poëmatibus scribendis, poëtam agnoscas et in oratione prosâ.'

About this time died Sir Richard Wingfield, in whose room, without solicitation, the king made Sir Thomas More chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.* The knight indeed grew into such favour with his majesty, that he was sometimes honoured with a visit from the king at Chelsea, his

* Roper and Erasmus.

present residence, without previous notice. One day Henry came thither to dinner unexpectedly, and after dinner walked in More's garden for an hour, with one arm round the knight's neck.

As soon as his grace was gone, relates Mr. Roper, I rejoicing thereat, said to Sir Thomas More, how happy he was whom the king had so familiarly entertained as I never had seen him do to any other, except cardinal Wolsey, whom I saw his grace walk once with arm in arm. *I thank our Lord, son,* quoth he, *I find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm. Howbeit son, Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof; for, if my head would win him a castle in France* (for then was there war betwixt us) *it should not fail to go.*' This anecdote proves that More already understood Henry's character well.

While Sir Thomas was chancellor of the duchy, he was twice employed in foreign embassies in commission with Wolsey, once to the emperor Charles in Flanders, and again in France.* In 1529 he was appointed to accompany Cuthbert Tonstall to Cambray, where he assisted in the treaty called after that place.† 1529.

Here, Mr. Roper informs us, the knight *worthily handled himself, procuring in our league far more benefits unto this realm, than at that time by the king or his council, was thought*

* Roper. † Lord Herbert.

*possible to be compassed.* And it was for his good services in this expedition, the son-in-law proceeds to inform us, that the king, when he afterward made Sir Thomas chancellor, caused the duke of Norfolk to declare publicly, how much England was indebted to him.

On his return from Cambray, Sir Thomas rode directly to the king at the court at Woodstock. Here information was brought him that a part of his dwelling-house at Chelsea, and all his barns, full of corn, were consumed by fire, and that the barns of some of his near neighbours were destroyed also. The letter he wrote to his lady on this occasion is preserved in his English works, and with it we will conclude the present chapter. The former part of it is perhaps addressed to her covetous disposition, while the latter part affords a most worthy instance of his own benevolence.

*Sir Thomas to Lady More.*

'Mistress Alice, in my most heartywise I recommend me to you. And whereas I am informed by my son Heron of the loss of our barns and our neighbours' also, with all the corn that was therein, albeit (saving God's pleasure) it is great pity of so much good corn lost, yet since it hath liked him to send us such a chance, we must and are bounden, not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that we have lost; and since he hath by such a chance taken it away again, his pleasure be ful-

filled! Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and heartily thank him, as well for adversity as for prosperity.

'And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our loss than for our winning; for his wisdom better seeth what is good for us than we do ourselves. Therefore I pray you be of good cheer, and take all the household with you to church, and there thank God, both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which, if it please him, he can increase when he will; and if it please him to leave us yet less, at his pleasure be it!

'I pray you to make some good ensearch what my poor neighbours have lost. And bid them take no thought therefore; for if I should not leave myself a spoon, there shall no poor neighbour of mine bear no loss by any chance, happened in my house. I pray you be, with my children and your household, merry in God: and devise somewhat with your friends, what way were best to take, for provision to be made for corn for our household, and for seed this year coming, if ye think it good that we keep the ground still in our hands. And whether ye think it good that we so shall do, or not, yet I think it were not best suddenly thus to leave it all up, and to put away our folk of our farm, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit, if we have more now than ye shall need, and which can get them other masters, ye may then discharge

us of them. But I would not that any man were suddenly sent away, he wot not whither.

'At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the king's grace. But now I shall, I think, because of this chance, get leave this next week to come home and see you; and then shall we farther devise together upon all things, what order shall be best to take.

'And thus as heartily fare you well, with all our children, as ye can wish! At Woodstock, the third day of September, by the hand of

Your loving husband,

THOMAS MORE.

# CHAP. III.

*Cardinal Wolsey.... His advancement, and quarrel with the emperor Charles.... Anecdotes of More and Wolsey.... The king's scruples regarding his marriage.... His inconsistency ... More's conduct in the matter.... Wolsey's fall.... More made chancellor.... The duke of Norfolk's speech and More's on the occasion.... More's improvement in the office.... His respect to his father, and impartiality to his family.... Anecdotes of his chancellorship.... He clears the chancery of causes.... He is offered money by the bishops for his writings.... Is again importuned by Henry on the divorce.... He determines to resign the seal.... Which he at last effects.... Henry's promise to him.... More's contempt of worldly grandeur.... His wife is more concerned.... Anecdotes of her.... More provides situations for his attendants, and calls together his family.... His poverty..., Death of his father, and his filial affection.... His letters to Erasmus on his resignation.... His monumental inscription.... His buildings and charity at Chelsea.... The remarks of Fox and others on More's persecution of heterodoxy ... State of the times.... More's own refutation of his calumniators.*

It is now time to contemplate the lofty elevation of the powerful cardinal, whose fall made the way for Sir Thomas More's highest advancement.

Wolsey was the son of a butcher of Ipswich. He received a good education, and discovered an early capacity, which obtained him a recommendation as tutor in the marquis of Dorset's family, to which his assiduity soon added the friendship of his patron. In time he was promoted as chaplain to Henry VII, and was employed by his majesty in a secret negociation regarding his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy. His diligence and dexterity gained him his master's good opinion, but the king's death, for a time, retarded his advancement.

Fox, bishop of Winchester, having discovered that the earl of Surrey had supplanted him in young Henry's favour, he hoped, by introducing Wolsey, upon whom he cast his eye as a rising man, to the king's familiarity, to oppose a rival to Surrey in his insinuating arts; while Wolsey, the sly churchman likewise hoped, should be content to act a part in the cabinet *subordinate* to his promoter. But the fact proved, that Wolsey soon supplanted Surrey in Henry's favour, and Fox in his confidence. In the young monarch's parties of pleasure Wolsey took the lead, and forgetting his years and his profession, he promoted all the gaiety which suited Henry's inclination. His father's counsellors, he represented, were indeed men of experience, but they owed not their promotion to the young king's favour, and they obstructed his affairs by their jealousies. A better system would be, to entrust his authority to one who was the creature of his will, could have no other view than to his service, and having the same taste for pleasure with him;

self, could acquaint him with business in the midst of gaiety. Wolsey, in short, soon became the too absolute minister of his sovereign.

The choice which he had made, Henry was by nature proud of maintaining; and Wolsey, while he directed the public councils, pretended a blind submission to his master's authority. Of his acquisitions there seemed to be no end, and a bare list of his church preferments would be tedious. The pope observed his influence over Henry, and deeming it politic to engage him in his interest, his holiness created him a cardinal. Eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen, immediately swelled his train, and the churchman's ostentation obtained a kind of provincial fame. The good Warham, as we have seen, chose rather to retire, than to maintain an unequal contest with the cardinal. On his resignation of the office of chancellor, the great seal was given to Wolsey; and the retirement of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and of bishop Fox, consigned into the cardinal's hands every authority in the kingdom.

On the recal of Campeggio by Leo X, from his fruitless errand to procure a tithe from our clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the Turks, Wolsey, his partner in the commission, was, by the king's desire, alone invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even of suspending all the laws of the church for a year. This new dignity not only af-

forded the cardinal a new opportunity of displaying his favourite state, but being now by the pope's commission and the king's favour invested with all power, ecclesiastical as well as civil, he erected what he called the legantine court, a tribunal, to the authority of which, no man knew the boundaries. He gave it an inquisitorial and censorial power even over the laity; and the clergy, especially the monks, were obliged to purchase indemnities, by large sums paid to the legate or to his judge. By virtue of his commission, he pretended to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishop's courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments; and he presented to whatever benefices he pleased, without regard to right of election or of patronage.

When Maximilian died, the kings of France and Spain became candidates for the imperial crown, and the success of Charles enabled Henry, by the power and situation of his kingdom, to hold the balance between those powers, which seemed to contend for the dominion of Europe. Francis solicited an interview with Henry near Calais, in the hope of being able to gain upon his friendship and confidence. But Charles, hearing of the intended interview, determined to take the opportunity in his passage from Spain to the Low countries, of paying Henry a still higher compliment, by visiting him at Dover; and it was here that that politic prince instilled into the aspiring cardinal the hope of attaining the papacy. Yet Adrian VI, who had been tutor to the emperor, succeeded Leo in the

papal chair, and Charles on paying another visit to England renewed to Wolsey his former promises. As Adrian's age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, the cardinal for that time dissembled his resentment; but when Adrian died and Clement VII succeeded, Wolsey became fully sensible of the emperor's insincerity, and began to estrange himself from the imperial court.*

More had the courage to oppose Wolsey in the council, as well as in parliament. To the former meeting Sir Thomas no doubt referreth, in the story he tells in one of his letters,† of the cardinal's project that England should support the emperor in his war with France.

'*Some*, he writes, thought it wise, that we should sit still and leave them alone. But evermore my lord used the fable of the wise men; who, because they would not be washed with the rain which should make everyone a fool, hid themselves in caves. But when the rain had made the rest fools, and these came out of their caves and would utter their wisdom, the fools agreed together against them, and overcame them. And so, said his grace, if we would be so wise as to sit in peace while the fools fought, they would afterward make head, and all fall upon us.—This fable helped the king and the realm to spend many a fair penny.'

More's great-grandson informs us, that the knight alludes

* Cavendish, Hume, &c. † Eng. works.

to Wolsey also in his book *of comfort in tribulation*, when he speaks of a great prelate in Germany, who, when he had made an oration before a large assembly, would bluntly ask those who sat at table with him, *how they all liked it? and he who brought forth a mean commendation of it, was sure to have no thanks for his labour.*

'On a time,' adds the same writer, 'the cardinal had drawn a draft of certain conditions of peace between England and France, and he asked Sir Thomas More's counsel therein, beseeching him earnestly that he would tell him, if there were anything therein to be misliked; *and he spoke this so heartily*, saith Sir Thomas, that he believed verily that he was willing to hear his advice indeed. But when Sir Thomas had dealt really therein, and shewed wherein that draft might have been amended, he suddenly rose in a rage and said, *by the mass thou art the veriest fool of all the council!* At which Sir Thomas smiling, said, *God be thanked that the king our master hath but one fool in all his council.*'

This incident perhaps led to the former allusion by More, and will remind the reader of the story of Gil Blas and the archbishop. It is certainly disagreeable to be placed in the situation of Gil Blas, and connected with one who will take it in dudgeon, if you do not smoke him with as much incense, as would satisfy three or thrice three goddesses.*

* Jortin.

Mr. Roper agrees with those historians, who ascribe to Wolsey's spirit of revenge against the emperor, the inflammation of Henry's scruples regarding the marriage with Catharine, his aunt. 'And for the better achiving thereof,' continues Roper, 'he requested Longland the bishop, being ghostly-father to the king, to put a scruple into his grace's head, *that it was not lawful for him to marry his brother's wife.* Which the king not sorry to hear of, opened it first unto Sir Thomas More, whose counsel he requested therein, shewing him certain places of scripture that seemed somewhat to serve his appetite.'

This happened previously to More's departure for Cambray.

Now Henry's case, if we believe himself, was completely a case of conscience; and he was greatly disquieted on account of his incestuous intercourse with his brother's widow. But is his majesty's word in his own cause to be alway relied upon? and if there were difficulties in such a marriage which might occasion scruples, how came they not to have arisen earlier in the course of eighteen years? If, again, Henry was convinced that his marriage was contrary to God's holy law, was it not strange that one pope could grant a dispensation for it, and then another pope declare it void? Did not his pleasure and his cause require a limit to the papal power, while his principles and his application to the pope declared that power unlimited? and will it be too severe to conclude, that when Henry found he

could not carry his point and preserve his principles, he determined that his *passions* should not at any rate prove the weak part to give way; and that what he attempted at first from resentment, in forsaking the holy see, he might in time bring himself to believe was indeed the cause of God and of religion?

The fact is, that Catharine was six years older than Henry, and the purity of her character was a poor recompence in his estimation for the loss of her beauty. Her children, save one daughter, all died in early infancy, and the king was very desirous of having male issue. Lastly, the beauty of Ann Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, had probably the chief influence on this occasion; and her virtue left Henry no hope of gratifying his passion, except by raising her to the throne. No wonder then that a divorce from Catharine was absolutely necessary.

More perused the passages of scripture pointed-out by the king, but excused himself from giving an opinion, *because he had not professed divinity.* Henry, however, urged him so strongly, that More besought the time requisite for a deliberation of such importance; and the king told him that Tonstall and Clark, bishops of Durham and Bath, with others of his privy council, should confer with him on the subject.*

Now would to our Lord son Roper, exclaimed Sir Tho-

* Roper.

mas one day at Chelsea water-side, upon condition that three things were well established in christendom, I were put in a sack and here presently cast into the Thames.' Mr. Roper was naturally curious to know what these three things were, and the knight continued—' in faith son they be these. The first is, that whereas the most part of christian princes be at mortal wars, they were all at universal peace. The second, that whereas the church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with many errors and heresies, it were settled in perfect uniformity of religion. The third, that whereas the matter of the king's marriage is now come in question, it were, to the glory of God and quietness of all parties, *brought to a good conclusion.*'

When Sir Thomas came next to court he said to the king, ' to be plain with your grace, neither my lord of Durham, nor my lord of Bath, though I know them both to be wise, virtuous, and learned prelates, nor myself with the rest of your council, being all your grace's own servants, for your manifold benefits, being daily bestowed on us, so much bounden unto you, be in my mind meet counsellors for your grace herein. But if your grace mean to understand the truth, such counsellors may you have devised, as neither for respect of their own worldly commodity, nor for fear of your princely authority, will be inclined to deceive you.' When he named these counsellors, they proved to be Jerome, Austin, &c., and he produced the authorities which he had collected out of them. ' Which, although the king,' continues Mr. Roper, ' as disagreeable to his desire, did not

very well like-of, yet were they by Sir Thomas More, who in all his communication with the king in that matter had alway most discreetly behaved himself, so wisely tempered, that he both presently took them in good part, and oftentime had thereof conference with him again.'

After More's return from Cambray, Henry again opened with him the question of his divorce; and declared to him, that although at his departure he despaired of success, yet since that time he had conceived great hopes of being able to accomplish it. For, though his marriage, being originally against the positive laws of the church and the written law of God, was rectified by the dispensation from Rome, yet was there *another thing found out of late*, whereby it appeared to be so directly against the law of nature that the church could in nowise dispense it. Henry then referred him to Dr. Stokesly, newly created bishop of London, *and in that case chiefly credited*, says Mr. Roper.

But it was More's great characteristic that no hope of gain or fear of disgrace could induce him to swerve from the dictates of his conscience; and, notwithstanding his conference with the bishop, he saw no reason to change his former opinion. Stokesly, however, reported favourably of More to the king, saying, the knight was truly desirous of seeing something in the case in his majesty's favour. The fact is, Wolsey had offended Stokesly, and the bishop wished to shew himself more solicitous than the cardinal as to the king's favourite object.*

* Roper.

Clement, still smarting from the sack of Rome, was at this time anxious for his personal safety, and well knew that the emperor could alone restore the Medici to their dominion in Florence. The cause of Charles was naturally that of queen Catharine, and a powerful one with the pope compared to that of Henry. No wonder then that the commission, which on Henry's application he granted to Wolsey and Campeggio, to try the matter here, proved inconclusive, and that the cause was soon evoked to Rome.

Wolsey well knew that this measure was the certain forerunner of his fall, for he knew that Henry expected his ministers to be answerable for the success of their undertakings. The motion of the cardinal's ruin became now as accelerated, as had before been that of his advancement; and in fine, the great seal was demanded from him and given by the king to Sir Thomas More.

Thus the fall of Wolsey made way for Sir Thomas More to become chancellor of England, and it hath been supposed by some, in which number is Mr. Roper, that one reason with Henry for giving him the seal, was to render him more favourable to the cause the king had so much at heart. Wolsey himself is reported to have said, that he thought no man in England worthier of the appointment than More.*

The knight was attended through Westminster-hall to his

* More.

seat in the chancery by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The speech made by his grace of Norfolk on the occasion, and the subsequent one by Sir Thomas, are here translated from Stapleton.

*The Duke of Norfolk's Speech.*

'It hath pleased his majesty (and may it prove happy for the whole realm of England!) to raise to the high dignity of chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a man sufficiently known to himself and to his kingdom. His majesty hath done this, from no other motive or respect whatever, than because he perceived in this man all the endowments which his people could desire or himself could wish, for the due discharge of the high office. His understanding, his integrity, the innocence of his life, and his happy genius, have not only been celebrated among his countrymen from his early youth, but known for many years past to the king himself also. Of this his majesty hath had very ample experience in many and great concerns at home and abroad, in various offices which he hath filled, in foreign embassies of great importance, and in his daily counsels in affairs of state. He hath thought his wisdom in deliberation, his truth in uttering his real sentiments, and his eloquence in adorning what he uttered, surpassed by none. From such a man every thing is to be expected; and since his majesty wisheth his people to be governed with equity and justice, integrity and wisdom, he hath appointed him chancellor; that his people may enjoy peace and justice, and the kingdom honour and fame.

'It may seem a novelty that this dignity is conferred upon a layman, a married man, and one of no high birth, when heretofore it hath been given to highest prelates and nobility: But what any one may think deficient in these respects, is abundantly compensated by the admirable virtues of this man, and his incomparable gifts of genius and of nature. The king hath therefore regarded, not *how great*, but *what* a man he is; not his titles, but his merits; not his station, but his ability. Lastly, his majesty would shew by his choice of Sir Thomas More, that excellent men are not wanting among his gentry and the laity, to fill the offices occupied by ecclesiastics and nobles; which being a blessing more rarely afforded by the Deity, his majesty esteemeth it the greater and more dear to his people. Receive then More for your chancellor under these happy auspices, and expect every prosperity from the choice which his majesty hath made.'

*Sir Thomas More's Speech.*

'Most noble duke, and ye my honourable lords and gentlemen. Although I know that what his majesty hath been pleased should be said of me on this occasion, and which your grace hath amplified in most elegant terms, is as unworthy of me, as I wish it were true, and as this office particularly requires; and although your speech hath agitated me more than I can well express; yet this incomparable favour of his majesty cannot but be most grateful to me, that he thinks so favourably of me, and commends my me-

diocrity to you so honourably.. And I cannot but return your grace my most hearty thanks, who have thus amplified the commands of his majesty in an elegant and eloquent oration. For the matchless favour alone of his majesty toward me, his generosity and the incredible propension of his royal mind to me, by which my small merits have now for many years been distinguished, and no desert of mine, cause this new honour and these commendations. For who am I, or what the house of my father, that his majesty should accumulate so many and so great honours upon me? Inferior to the least of his favours, of this station and honour I am certainly unworthy, and hardly equal to the discharge of its duties.

'Unwillingly I came, as his majesty hath often allowed, to court and to his service; but this dignity is most of all against my will. Yet such is the goodness, such the benignity of his majesty, that he magnifieth the smallest duties of his subjects; and richly remunerates his servants, though they have little merit, if they be but desirous of pleasing him. In this number I have ever wished to be, though I could not reckon myself among the meritorious.

'This being the case, you will all easily perceive with me, how great a burden is imposed upon me, that my diligence and duty may correspond with the king's great favour, and that I may answer his high expectation of me. These praises were therefore the less grateful to me, the more I knew the difficulty of my duty, and how few aids I

had to make myself appear not unworthy of them. The burden is greater than my shoulders will bear, the honour greater than my merits; it is a care, not a glory; a solicitude, not a dignity. I must bear it with my best exertions, and fulfil the duty as dexterously as I can. But a great stimulus to my success will be, the strong desire which hath through life been highest in my mind, and which I acknowledge now chiefly to actuate me, of satisfying his majesty's high claims upon me. And I rely upon this being more easy to me, the more I find all your good wills to correspond with the king's favour. For my desire of doing right, united with your favourable acceptance, will certainly establish the success of my endeavours, and make them, though small, seem great and praise-worthy. What we set about cheerfully, we achieve happily; and what is kindly received appears best executed. As therefore ye hope the best possible of me, so, though I cannot promise ye the best possible, yet promise I the best I can perform.

'But when I look upon this seat, when I recollect who and how great persons have filled it before me, when I contemplate who sat in it last, a man of what singular wisdom, of what skill in business, of what splendid and long-prosperous fortune, with a high and inglorious fall at last, I see the difficulty of my situation before me, and my new honour is rendered less grateful and pleasant to me, than it may seem to many. For it is difficult to succeed with approbation to one of such genius, wisdom, authority, and splendour, or to trace his footsteps with an equal pace. It

s like burning a candle after the setting sun. And the unexpected and sudden fall of so great a man is a terrible admonition to me, not to let my new honour please me too much, or its splendour dazzle my eyes.

'I therefore ascend this seat, as one which is full of labour and hazard, while it is empty of true and solid honour. The higher it is, the greater the precipice I must guard against, as not only the nature of the thing, but the recent example sufficiently warn me. And unless, under these circumstances, the incredible propension of his majesty toward me, and the good will of you all, which I gather from your agreeable countenances, recreated and refreshed me, I might stumble at this very entrance, and perhaps faint; this seat would not seem pleasanter to me, than did the sword which hung by a horse-hair over the head of Damocles while he occupied the state-chair of Dionysius in the midst of honours and delicacies. This then will I ever keep in mind, this have alway before my eyes, that this seat will in such degree be honourable to me, full of dignity and splendour, a new and renowned preferment, as I continue with all care and vigilance to administer my high office with fidelity and wisdom, and as I keep in mind that my enjoyment of it may be but short and precarious. The one, my diligence ought to accomplish; the other, the example of my predecessor teach me.

'This being the case, you will all the more easily appreciate what pleasure this high office, this effusion of the

noble duke, or this matchless favour of his majesty, afford me.'

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'And as they had before charged him,' adds Mr. Roper, 'on the king's behalf, uprightly to administer indifferent justice to the people, without corruption or affection; so did he likewise charge them again, that if they saw him at any time in anything to digress from any part of his duty in that honourable office, even as they would discharge their own duty and fidelity to God and the king, so should they not fail to disclose it to his grace, who otherwise might have just occasion to lay his fault wholly to their charge.'

The reader will recollect, that this speech was delivered extempore, nearly three hundred years ago, upon that difficult subject, a man's self. The speaker seems sufficiently to evince his acquaintance with his sovereign's character, and that he foresaw it would not suit his own conscience and inclination long to enjoy his dignity.

Having now traced Sir Thomas More to the summit of his profession, and to the highest dignity which, as a layman, he could possess in this country, we are next to view the integrity of his administration in it, and his incorruptible mind in the midst of worldly greatness.

Speedily was a remarkable alteration to be perceived in 1530.
the discharge of the office. The pride of Wolsey rendered

him inaccessible to persons of common rank, and bribery to his attendants was requisite for reaching his presence only. But the new chancellor, the poorer and meaner a suiter was, the more affably would he address him, the more attentively hear his business, and the more speedily dispatch it.* He used commonly every afternoon (says Mr. Roper) to sit in his open hall, to the intent that if any person had any suit unto him, they might the more boldly come to his presence and open their complaints before him. His manner was also, to read every bill himself before he would award any subpœna; which being matter worthy of subpœna, he would set his hand to it; if otherwise, he cancelled it.

His father, Sir John More, now nearly ninety years of age, was still a judge of the king's-bench when More became chancellor. Whenever he passed through Westminster-hall to his place in the chancery by the court of king's-bench (says Mr. Roper) if his father had seated himself ere he came, he would go into the same court, and there reverently kneeling down in the sight of them all, duly ask his father's blessing. And if it fortuned that his father and he, at readings in Lincoln's-inn, met together, as they sometimes did, notwithstanding his high office he would offer in argument the pre-eminence to his father; though he, for his office sake, would refuse to take it.

No one who understands More's character, will be sur-

* More.

prized at finding, that the claims of friendship or relationship had not the smallest influence over him in the impartial administration of justice.

One of his sons-in-law said to him one day, while he was chancellor, that in Wolsey's time not only they of his privy-chamber, but his very door-keeper, made great profits; whereas Sir Thomas was so easy of access to every degree of persons, that if, in his attendance upon him, he took any fee, he should injure the parties, by making them pay for what they could obtain for themselves, and which, though commendable in Sir Thomas, was not profitable to him. 'You say well son,' replied the knight, 'I do not mislike that you are of conscience so scrupulous. But many other ways be there, son, that I may both do you good and pleasure your friend also. For sometimes may I by my word stand your friend in stead; and sometimes may I by my letter help him; or if he have a cause depending before me, at your request I may hear him before another; or if his cause be not all the best, yet may I move the parties to fall to some end or arbitrament. Howbeit, this one thing, son, I assure thee on my faith, that if the parties will at my hands call for justice, then were it my father stood on one side and the devil on the other, his cause being good, the devil should have right.'

Another of his sons-in-law, Mr. Heron, had a cause pending in chancery, and presumed so much upon the favour of Sir Thomas, that he would not be persuaded to agree

to any compromise. The result was, that the chancellor, on hearing the cause, made a decision directly against him.*

His talent for drollery could not forsake More, even in his highest elevation. An attorney of the name of Tub, it is said, once brought him a cause for subscription, which the knight, finding the matter frivolous, signed *A Tale of a Tub*; and Tub bore away the cause in triumph, without at that time discovering the joke.†

While he was sitting in his hall one day, a beggar came to him to complain, that Lady More detained a little dog which belonged to her. The chancellor sent for his lady and ordered her to bring the dog with her. He took it into his hands, and placing Lady More at the upper end of the hall, desired the beggar to stand at the lower end. *I sit here,* he said, *to do every one justice;* and he desired each of them to call the dog. The little favourite immediately forsook his new mistress and ran to the beggar; upon which Lady More was compelled to indulge her partiality by purchasing the animal.‡

The duke of Norfolk came to dine with Sir Thomas one day at Chelsea while he was chancellor, and found him at church singing in the quire with a surplice on. 'God's body, God's body, my lord chancellor, said his grace as they went home, what a parish clerk, a parish clerk?—you dis-

* Roper. † More. ‡ Ibid.

honour the king and his office.' 'Nay,' replied Sir Thomas, smiling, 'your grace may not think that the king, your master and mine, will with me for serving God, his master, be offended, or thereby account his office dishonoured.'*

Few injunctions as he granted while he was chancellor to stop proceedings at common law, he had yet gone too far in this particular to obtain the approbation of all the judges; whereof he received information from Mr. Roper.

Sir Thomas hereupon caused the chief of the six clerks to make a docket containing the whole number and causes of all such injunctions as had already passed in his time, or were then pending before him, and invited all the judges to dine with him in the council-chamber at Westminster. After dinner, he hinted at the complaints he had heard, and then displayed so clearly the motives of his conduct, that they were compelled to confess they would have acted similarly under similar circumstances. He then observed that if the justices of every court (unto whom the reforming the rigour of the law appertained) would, in their own discretion, as he thought they were in conscience bound, reform that rigour themselves, he would grant no more injunctions. Which, when they refused, *forasmuch as yourselves, my lords,* he said, *drive me to that necessity of awarding-out injunctions to relieve the people's injury, you cannot hereafter any more justly blame me. I perceive, son,* he add-

* Roper.

ed to Mr. Roper, *why they like not so to do. For they see that they may, by the verdict of the jury, cast-off all quarrels from themselves on those; which they do account their chief defence. And therefore am I compelled to abide the adventure of all such reports.**

So indefatigable was More in his application to business, and so expert in the dispatch of it, that it is said, during his presidency in the chancery, having one day ended a cause, and calling for the next which was to be heard, he received for answer that *there was not another cause depending.*† This fact he ordered to be entered upon record, and it gave rise, probably at a later day, to the following epigram.

When More sometime had chanc'llor been
No *more* suits did remain;
The same shall never *more* be seen
Till More be there again.

More, while he was chancellor, cannot be supposed to have had much leisure for religious controversy. Yet his abilities were in request to oppose the reformers, and his English works abundantly prove what his son-in-law asserts, that he set-forth divers profitable works in defence of the *true* christian religion against *heresies* secretly sown-abroad in the realm.

The bishops, considering that notwithstanding the favour

* Roper. † More.

of the king, he was not a rich man, agreed at a convocation, with others of the clergy, to recompence him with a sum of money (supposed to have been four or five thousand pounds), to be raised among them. The bishops of Bath, Durham, and Exeter, waited upon him in consequence, and acknowledging the obligation of their body to his labours, presented him the money in the name of the convocation. More refused the present, and said with his thanks, that it was no small comfort to him, that men so wise and learned so well accepted his *simple doings*, for which he never intended to receive reward but at the hands of God, to whom their thanks were due.

When no importunity would prevail with him, the bishops besought More that they might present the money to his wife and children. 'Not so my lords,' said the knight. 'I had rather see it cast in the Thames than that either I or any of mine should have thereof the worth of a penny. For although your offer, my lords, be indeed very friendly and honourable, yet set I so little by my profit and so much by my pleasure, that I would not in good faith have lost the watching of so many nights for much more than your liberal offer. And yet wish would I, for all that, upon condition that all heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burnt and my labour lost.'*

The reformers circulated a report from this circumstance, that More was bribed by the clergy, the greater part of

* Roper.

whom he certainly far surpassed in knowledge, to write against them.*

In his writings, Sir Thomas hath the following passage on this subject. 'I will not say nay, but that some good and honourable men of them (the clergy) would, in reward of my good will and my labour against these heretics, have given me much more than ever I did or could deserve. But I dare take God and them also to record, that all they could never fee me with one penny thereof; but, as I plainly told them, I would rather have cast their money into the Thames than take it. For albeit they were, as indeed there were, both good men and honourable, yet look I for my thank of God that is their better, and for whose sake I take the labour and not for theirs.——I am not yet fully so virtueless, but that of mine own natural disposition, without any special peculiar help of grace thereto, I am both over-proud and over-slothful also, to be hired *for money*, to take half the labour and business in writing, that I have taken in this gear (matter) since I began.' †

Soon after his entry upon his office of chancellor, Henry again importuned More upon the subject of the divorce. The knight, saith Mr. Roper, fell on his knees and besought his majesty to remain the gracious sovereign he had ever found him. Nothing had been so grievous to him as his inability to serve his majesty in that matter with a safe conscience, having ever borne in mind his majesty's words

* More. † Eng. works, p. 867.

on his entry into his service, the most virtuous lesson which prince ever taught his servant, *first to look unto God, and after God unto him.*

Henry answered, continues Roper, that if More could not conscientiously serve him in that matter, he was content to accept the knight's services in other ways, and to take the advice of others of his council whose consciences did not revolt at it; that he would continue his favour toward the knight, and never more molest his conscience with that matter. But this language proceeded from Henry's heart as it alway *should have been*, and not, as we shall find, from what it alway *was*.

Dr. Cranmer, fellow of Jesus-college, Cambridge, had remarked by accident in the company of Gardiner, secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner, that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience or to extort the pope's consent to his divorce, would be to consult all the universities of Europe on the question, whose decree the pope must find it very difficult to resist; and Henry, delighted at the idea, swore Cranmer *had got the right sow by the ear*, and immediately took him into his favour. Several universities gave their verdict according to the king's wish without hesitation, and Oxford and Cambridge in time complied also. Clement, however, lying still under the influence of the emperor, persevered in summoning Henry, either in person or by proxy, to appear at Rome. But Henry regarded the citation as an insult; and the earl of

Wiltshire, father of Ann Boleyn, who bore to the pope his majesty's reasons for not appearing, gave his holiness the affront of refusing the customary salute to his proffered toe.

In a word, More plainly perceived the king's determination to marry Ann Boleyn at all events, and that all his measures and those of his parliament pointed to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion. His office occasioned him to be sent by the king, in company with certain nobles and bishops, from the lords to the commons, to inform them the opinions of the universities; and he was compelled to recite a tale, which certainly afforded him little satisfaction in the telling. But More's contempt of worldly greatness was too strong to allow him to hold the *highest* of stations subject to the violation of his conscience, and it was certainly not improbable, as matters now stood, that he might frequently undergo similar trials. Though he might concur with those who would abbreviate the illegal jurisdiction of the pope in this country, he saw now by the king's designs that *a total rupture* would follow; and he was not inclined to go to that length which the court intended against the catholic cause, not to mention the objections he appeared to have to the divorce.

We shall not wonder then, that More soon applied to his particular friend, the duke of Norfolk, to intercede with Henry, that he might be permitted to resign the seal. A complaint in his breast arising from too strenuous an appli-

cation to business, was the reason assigned by the knight to the duke, as well as in his letters to his friends, for this resignation; and perhaps those only who are unacquainted with the character of Henry, will blame More for so much dissimulation on the occasion.

But Norfolk knew too well the value of More to the king in the station which he filled, to make such a proposal to his majesty without much importunity from the knight; and Henry knew his worth too well, to listen to it without repeated solicitation. The king's consent was, however, at last obtained, and More waited upon his majesty by appointment, to deliver-up the seal. 1532.

'Which,' continues Mr. Roper, 'as his grace, with thanks and praise for his worthy service in that office, at his hands courteously received, so it pleased his highness farther to say unto him, that for the service which he before had done him, in any suit which he should afterward have unto him which should either concern his *honour* (for that word it pleased his highness to use unto him), or which should appertain unto his profit, he should find his highness a good and gracious lord unto him.'

More's great-grandson adds, perhaps somewhat *feelingly*, 'how true these words proved, let others be judges, when the king not only bestowed not upon him the value of one penny, but took from him and his posterity all that ever he

had, either given by himself, or left him by his father, or purchased by himself.'

It hath been justly remarked of More, that he descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had ascended to it. He sported with the varieties of his fortune, and neither the pride of high station, nor the melancholy of retreat could disturb his serenity. When his friends discovered sorrow on his descent from grandeur, he laughed at their distress, and made them ashamed of losing a moment's chearfulness from such trivial misfortunes.*

His second wife appears from the following anecdote to have been less of a philosopher than himself on this occasion.

During his chancellorship, one of More's attendants had been in the habit, after the church-service was over, of going to his lady's pew to inform her when the chancellor was gone. The first holiday after the resignation of his office, Sir Thomas came to the pew himself, and, making a low bow, said, *madam, my lord is gone.* His lady at first imagined this to be one of his jests, and took little notice of it; but when he informed her seriously that he had resigned the seal, she was in a passion. The facetious knigh called his daughters, and asked if they could espy no faul in their mother's appearance? Being answered in the ne

* Hume.

gative, he replied, do ye not perceive that her nose standeth somewhat awry? *

The good lady is reported to have exclaimed with her usual worldly feeling on this occasion, *Tilli vally, what will you do Mr. More? will you sit and make goslings in the ashes? it is better to rule than to be ruled.* †.

More's first care after the resignation of his office, was, to provide situations for his late attendants. He used all his influence to place these among the nobility and bishops; and next called together his children, whom hitherto he had maintained with their families in his own house, in the manner of an ancient patriarch. Declaring to them that he could not now, as he had done formerly, and still gladly would have done, bear all their expences himself, he asked their advice, what they should do that they might continue to live together, which he much desired?

'When he saw us silent,' continues Mr. Roper, and in that case not ready to shew our opinions unto him, 'then will I,' said he, 'shew my poor mind to ye. I have been brought-up,' quoth he, 'at Oxford, at an inn of the chancery, at Lincoln's-inn, and also in the king's court, and so from the least degree to the highest; and yet have I in yearly revenues at this present left me a little above a hundred pounds by the year: so that now must we hereafter if we like to live together, be contented to become contri-

* Roper. † More.

butors together. But by my counsel, it shall not be best for us to fall to the lowest fare first. We will not therefore descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New-inn; but we will begin with Lincoln's-inn diet, where many right worshipfuls and of good years do live full well together: Which if we find not ourselves able to maintain the first year, then will we the next year go one step down to New-inn fare, wherewith many an honest man is well-contented. If that exceed our ability too, then we will the next year after descend to Oxford fare, where many grave, learned, and ancient fathers be continually conversant: Which if our power stretch not to maintain neither, then may we yet with bags and wallets go a begging together, and hoping that for pity some good folks will give us their charity, at every man's door to sing *salve regina*, and so still keep company and be merry together.'

'And whereas,' adds Mr. Roper, 'you have heard before, he was by the king, from a very worshipful living, taken into his service, with whom, in all the great and weighty causes that concerned his highness or the realm, he consumed and spent, with painful cares, travails and troubles, as well beyond the seas as within the realm, in effect the whole substance of his life; yet, with all the gain he got thereby (being never wasteful spender thereof) he was not able, after the resignation of his office of the lord chancellor, for the maintenance of himself and such as necessarily belonged unto him, sufficiently to find meat, drink, fuel, and apparel, and such other necessary charges.

All the land that ever he purchased (which also he purchased before he was lord chancellor) was not, I am well assured, above the value of twenty marks by the year. And after his debts paid, he had not I know (his chain excepted) in gold and silver left him, the worth of one hundred pounds.'

When More's house was afterward searched upon his commitment to the Tower, because it was thought that he was not really so poor as he appeared to be, he told his daughter Margaret that this would prove but a sport to those who knew the truth of his poverty, *unless indeed they should find his wife's gay girdle and her golden beads.**

It was about this time that More's father, Sir John More, died, in extreme old age; having lived to see the summit of his son's prosperity, and departing in time not to witness his severe end. Sir Thomas is said to have displayed the strongest filial affection on this occasion; and the old man breathed his last, comforted by the prayers and embraces of his dear son.†

Little, if any, increase of fortune accrued to More by his father's death. Sir John's last wife, who outlived Sir Thomas about ten years, enjoyed her husband's chief house and lands at Gubbins in Hertfordshire.‡ And in More's Apology, written about this time, he asserts, *as for all the lands and fees that I have in all England, beside such lands*

* More. † Ibid. and Roper. ‡ More.

*and fees as I have of the gift of the king's most noble grace, is not at this day, nor shall be while my mother-in-law liveth (whose life and good health I pray God long keep and continue) worth yearly to my living, the sum of full fifty pounds.** Such was More's charity, and his contempt of wealth!

In his Latin works are preserved two letters which More wrote to Erasmus soon after the resignation of his office. They contain some interesting passages which are here translated.

'The thing which I have wished for from a boy, dear Desiderius, which I rejoice in your having ever enjoyed, and myself occasionally,—namely, that being free from public business, I might have some time to devote to God and myself,—that, by the grace of a great and good God, and by the favour of an indulgent prince, I have at last obtained.

'I have not, however, obtained it as I wished. For I wished to reach that last stage of my life in a state, which, though suitable to my age, might yet enable me to enjoy my remaining years healthy and unbroken, free from disease and pain. But it remaineth in the hand of God, whether this wish, perhaps unreasonable, shall be accomplished. Meantime a disorder of I know not what nature hath attacked my breast, by which I suffer less in present pain than in fear of the consequence. For when it had

* Eng. works, p. 867.

plagued me without abatement some months, the physicians whom I consulted gave their opinion, that the long continuance of it was dangerous, and the speedy cure impossible; but that it must be cured by the gradual alterative effects of time, proper diet and medicine. Neither could they fix the period of my recovery, or ensure me a complete cure at last.

'Considering this, I saw that I must either lay down my office, or discharge my duty in it incompletely. And since I could not discharge that duty without the hazard of my life, and by so doing should lose both life and office, I determined to lose one of them rather than both. Wherefore, that I might consult the public good as well as my own welfare, I entreated of the kindness of my good and great prince, that from the high office with which (as you know) he honoured me by his incredible favour, far above my pretensions, above my hopes, above my wishes, he should now release me, sinking as I was under the weight of it.

'I therefore pray heaven, that God, who alone is able, may repay these favours of his majesty toward me; that the remaining time which he allotteth me may not be spent in inglorious and slothful repose, but that he may give me inclination and strength of body also, to employ it profitably. For, under bad health, I am not equal to anything; nor, my good friend, are we all like Erasmus, that that might be expected from us which God in his kindness seems

to have granted exclusively to you. For who but yourself could dare to promise what you accomplish?—you, who are not hindered by the inconveniencies of growing age, and, though you be constantly afflicted with such maladies as might sicken and overcome youth and strength, yet cease you not yearly to instruct mankind by your excellent writings, as if age and ill health had robbed you of nothing.

'Certain praters had begun to give it out here, that though I dissembled my sentiments, I gave-up my office unwillingly; but, having set-about my monument, I have not failed to represent the matter as it really was, in my epitaph, that, if anybody could, I might myself confute such insinuations. In appreciating this act, though they could not tax me with falsehood, they acquitted me not of some degree of arrogance. But I preferred this, to letting the other gain credit; certainly not on my own account, who think very little of what men say while God approveth, but since I had written some books in our language in the cause of the faith against certain of our advocates for the most disputed tenets, I conceived that it behoved me to defend the integrity of my character. And that you may know *how arrogantly* I have written, I send you my epitaph, by which you will see with what assurance I leave these men uncomplimented, that they may *the less* say of me what they please.

'I have now waited a due time for suffrages on my

official conduct, but no one hath yet stepped forward to challenge my integrity. I must thus have been very innocent or very cautious, and if my adversaries will not give me credit for the one they must for the other. The king himself hath declared his sentiments on the subject often in private, and twice in public. For when my successor, a very first-rate personage, took his seat, his majesty commanded the duke of Norfolk, high-treasurer of England, to bear most honourable testimony of me, yea, more than my modesty will allow me to repeat, and to say that he dismissed me most unwillingly at my entreaty; and not content with so great a favour, he caused this to be repeated long afterward in his presence, in our assembly of peers and commons called parliament, by my successor, in his first speech, made as is customary on that occasion.*

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The monumental inscription above alluded to, was inscribed by More on the south side of the choir of his parish church at Chelsea, soon after the resignation of his office. The remains of his first wife being removed thither, he subjoined the verses, which he had written many years previously.* The original and a translation here follow.

Thomas Morus,
Urbe Londinensi familia non celebri sed honesta natus,
In literis utcunque versatus,
Quum et causas aliquot annos juvenis egisset in foro,
Et in urbe sua pro shyrevo jus dixisset,

* English works.

Ab invictissimo rege Henrico VIII
(Cui uni regum omnium gloria prius inaudita contigit
Ut FIDEI DEFENSOR,
Qualem et gladio se et calamo vere præstitit,
Merito vocaretur)
Adscitus in aulam est
Delectusque in consilium et creatus eques,
Proquæstor primum, post cancellarius Lancastriæ, tandem Angliæ,
Miro principis favore factus est.
Sed interim in publico regni senatu lectus est orator populi;
Præterea legatus regis nonnunquam fuit, alias alibi,
Postremo vero Cameraci,
Comes et collega junctus principi legationis Cuthberto Tonstallo,
Tum Londinensi mox Dunelemensi episcopo;
Quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius.
Ibi inter summos orbis christiani monarchas rursus refecta fœdera,
Redditamque mundo diu desideratam pacem
Et lætissimus vidit et legatus interfuit.
Quam superi pacem firment faxintque perennem!
In hoc officiorum vel honorum cursu quum ita versaretur,
Ut neque princeps optimus operam ejus improbaret
Neque nobilibus esset invisus, nec injucundus populo,
Furibus autem, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus,
Pater ejus tandem, Johannes Morus, eques,
Et in eum judicum ordinem a principe cooptatus qui REGIUS CONSESSUS vocatur,
Homo civilis, suavis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus et integer,
Annis quidam gravis sed corpore plusquam pro ætate vivido,
Postquam eo productam sibi vitam vidit
Ut filium videret Angliæ cancellarium,
Satis in terra jam se moratum ratus
Libens migravit in cœlum.
At filius, defuncto patre,
Cui, quamdiu supererat, comparatus et juvenis vocari consueverat
Et ipse quoque sibi videbatur,
Amissum jam patrem requirens

Et editos ex se liberos quatuor ac nepotes undecim respiciens,
Apud animum suum cæpit persenescere.
Auxit hunc affectum animi
Subsecuta statim, velut appetentis senii signum,
Pectoris valetudo deterior.
Itaque mortalium harum rerum satur,
Quam rem a puero pene semper optaverat,
Ut ultimos aliquot vitæ suæ annos obtineret liberos,
Quibus hujus vitæ negotiis paulatim se subducens
Futuræ possit immortalitatem meditari,
Eam rem tandem (si cœptis annuat Deus)
Indulgentissimi principis incomparabili beneficio
Resignatis honoribus impetravit:
Atque hoc sepulchrum sibi
Quod mortis eum nunquam cessantis admonere quotidie commonefaceret,
Translatis huc prioris uxoris ossibus,
Extruendum curavit.
Quod ne superstes frustra sibi fecerit
Neve ingruentem trepidus mortem horreat,
Sed desiderio Christi libens oppetat,
Mortemque ut sibi non omnino mortem
Sed januam vitæ felicioris inveniat,
Precibus eum piis, lector optime,
Spirantem precor defunctumque prosequere.

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Chara Thomæ jacet hic Joanna uxorcula Mori,
Qui tumulum Aliciæ hunc destino, quique mihi.
Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta virentibus annis
Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.
Altera privignis (quæ gloria rara novercæ est)
Tam pia quam gnatis vix fuit ulla suis.
Altera sic mecum vixit, sic altera vivit,
Charior incertum est hæc sit an hæc fuerit.

O! simul O! juncti poteramus vivere nos tres
Quam bene, si fatum religioque sinant!
At societ tumulus, societ nos obsecro cœlum!
Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit.

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Thomas More,
Born in the city of London, of no distinguished but of an honest family,
Somewhat of a proficient in literature,
When, in his youth he had pleaded at the bar some years
And discharged the office of under-sheriff in that city
He, by the redoubted king Henry VIII
(To whom alone of kings accrued the glory, before unknown,
Of being deservedly entitled
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH,
As indeed he proved himself by the sword as well as the pen,)
Was called to court
Chosen a privy-counsellor, knighted, and made
Sub-treasurer, chancellor of Lancaster, and chancellor of England
In succession, by his king's great kindness.
Meantime he was chosen speaker of the commons
And appointed ambassador to various courts;
Last of all to Cambray,
Being associated with Cuthbert Tonstall, the chief of that embassy,
Then bishop of London and since of Durham,
A man than whom the world can scarcely boast one more learned, wiser, or better.
There he had the pleasure to see and to negociate
The renewal of the leagues between the chief princes of christendom
And the restoration to the world of long-wished-for peace.
Which peace may heaven confirm and long preserve!
When he had so acquitted himself in these duties and honours,
That neither could his good king arraign his conduct
Nor the peers or commons disapprove,
Though he had been severe to thieves, murderers, and heretics,

At length his father, Sir John More,
Appointed by his majesty a judge of the king's-bench,
A man of courteous and pleasant manners, harmless, gentle, full of compassion, just and uncorrupt,
Old indeed in years, yet fresh for his age in bodily strength,
After living to see his son chancellor of England,
Thinking he had tarried long enough on earth,
Passed willingly to heaven.
The son, on the death of his father,
Compared to whom, while he lived, he was called a young man,
And indeed seemed so to himself,
Wanting now his best parent
And beholding four children of his own and eleven grandchildren
Began to fancy himself growing old.
And this fancy was strengthened
By the immediate succession of a disorder in his breast,
A symptom as it were of approaching age.
Having then tasted plentifully of this world's pursuits,
The thing which he had wished for from a boy,
That he might enjoy some of his last years free,
And withdrawing himself by degrees from this life's business
Might have leisure to meditate on his future immortality,
That thing at last (if God approve)
By the incomparable kindness of his most indulgent king,
Having resigned his honours, he hath obtained.
And he hath erected this monument,
Having removed hither the remains of his first wife,
As a constant memorial of his ever-approaching death.
That he may not have done this in vain while yet he lived,
That he dread not the approach of death,
But meet it cheerfully from the love of Christ,
And that he find death not his extinction
But the entrance of a happier existence,
Do thou good reader assist him with thy pious prayers
As well now while he liveth as after his decease.

Here lies my Jane, dear wife of Thomas More,
And here my Alice and myself would lie;
Three girls, a boy, my Jane her partner bore,
With rarest stepdames may my Alice vie.
So bless'd the first my youthful years with love,
So sooths the second my maturer day,
Each seems in vain superior worth to prove
For each divides my heart with equal sway.
Religion's laws had they allow'd, or fate,
Here brac'd in triple concord could we live;
Grant grave, grant heaven that bless'd united state,
And death afford what life could never give!

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To the elegant pen of the Reverend Francis Wrangham the reader is indebted for the following additional translation of the verses.

Within this tomb Jane, wife of More, reclines:
This, More for Alice and himself designs.
The first, dear object of my youthful vow,
Gave me three daughters and a son to know;
The next,—ah! virtue in a stepdame rare!
Nursed my sweet infants with a mother's care.
With both my years so happily have past,
Which most my love, I know not—first, or last.
O! had religion, destiny allow'd,
How smoothly, mix'd, had our three fortunes flow'd!
But be we in the tomb, in heaven allied:
So kinder death shall grant, what life denied.

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More had now for some years made Chelsea the place of his abode. No less than four houses in that parish have

laid claim to the honour of his residence; of which, that subsequently belonging to Sir Robert Cecil, and more recently called Beaufort House, appears to have the best pretension. 'A good distance from his house,' says Mr. Roper, 'builded he a place called the New-building, wherein was a chapel, a library, and a gallery.' Mr. More adds, that Sir Thomas built a chapel or chancel in Chelsea-church and furnished it liberally with plate, &c. saying, *good men give it and bad men take it away.* This is said to have been the south chancel; in the east window of which, his arms remained until it was repaired about eighty years ago. He also hired a house for the aged, in this parish, and supported them; delegating to his favourite daughter, Margaret, the office of seeing that their wants were supplied.*

Before we leave this period of More's chancellorship, it will be proper to advert to the allegation made, of his furious zeal while in office in persecuting heterodoxy.

Of our martyrologist Fox, it hath been justly said, that neither his facts nor his temper are to be relied upon. His relations of More are, however, followed by Burnet and Strype; and Mr. Hume, in a later day, following these authorities, hath told us that Sir Thomas, though adorned with the gentlest manners and the purest integrity, carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy. This man, saith the historian, whose elegant genius and familiar ac-

* More.

quaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had in the course of events been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a supersitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their persecution of heresy.

Zeal for religion hath, it is true, been able in many instances to render the sweetest dispositions ferocious, nay, to make man worse by grace than he was by nature; and the religion in which More had been educated, the ignorance and superstition, with the usual progress of men's sentiments, during the age in which he lived, might, had he not himself given the lie to these calumnies, have been adduced at this day in extenuation of his conduct. There were moreover so many of corrupt minds and evil principles, who abused the reformation to serve their own vilest purposes, that it is not to be wondered at if More, as well as others, entertained strong prejudices against it. Germany was a scene of uproar, the commonalty acting as if all was their own, and plundering whoever they pleased. Who knows not, exclaims the good Erasmus, how many light and seditious ones are ready, on this pretence of reformation, to break loose in every kind of crime, had not the severity of power restrained their temerity? Were it not for this check, the pseudo-gospellers had long since broken into the cellars and cabinets of the rich, and every one would have proved a papist who had any thing to lose.

But what will a candid reader require from a man of More's acknowledged integrity, stronger than the following curious assertions in his own behalf, to be found in the 36th chapter of his Apology, printed in his English works? with which we will conclude the present chapter, for they seem to need no comment.

'The lies are neither few nor small, which many of the blessed brethren have made, and daily yet make by me. Divers of them have said, that, of such as were in my house while I was chancellor, I used to examine them with torments, causing them to be bounden to a tree in my garden and there piteously beaten. And this tale had some of those good brethren so caused to be blown about, that a right-worshipful friend of mine did of late, within less than this fortnight, tell unto another near friend of mine, that he had of late heard much speaking thereof.

'What cannot these brethren say who can be so shameless to say thus? For, of very truth, albeit that for a great robbery, or an heinous murder, or sacrilege in a church, with carrying away the pix with the blessed sacrament, or villanously casting it out, I caused sometimes such things to be done by some officers of the Marshalsea, or of some other prisons —— with which ordering of them, by their well deserved pain, and without any great hurt that afterward should stick by them, I found-out and repressed many such desperate wretches as else had not failed to have gone farther abroad, and to have done to many good folk

a great deal much more harm —— yet though I so did in thieves, murderers, and robbers of churches, and notwithstanding also that heretics be yet much worse than all they, yet, saving only their sure keeping, I never did else cause any such thing to be done to any of them all, in all my life, except only twain.

'Of which the one was a child, and a servant of mine in mine own house; whom his father had, ere ever he came with me, nursed-up in such matters, and had set him to attend upon George Jay —— This George Jay did teach this child his ungracious heresy against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Which heresy, this child afterward, being in service with me, began to teach another child in my house, who uttered his counsel. And, upon that point perceived and known, I caused a servant of mine to stripe him, like a child, before mine household, for amendment of himself and example of such other.

Another was one, who after that he had fallen into those frantic heresies, fell soon after into plain open frenzy beside. And albeit that he had therefore been put-up in Bedlam, and afterward, by beating and correction, gathered his remembrance to him and began to come again to himself, being thereupon set at liberty, and walking about abroad, his old fancies began to fall again in his head. And I was from divers good holy places advertised, that he used, in his wandering about, to come into the church, and there make many mad toys and trifles, to the trouble of good

people in the divine service. And specially would he be most busy in the time of most silence, while the priest was at the secrets of the mass. And if he spied any woman kneeling at a form, if her head hung anything low in her meditations, then would he steal behind her, and if he were not letted, would labour to lift-up all her clothes and cast them quite over her head.

'Whereupon, I being advertised of these pageants, and being sent unto and required by very devout, religious folk, to take some other order with him, caused him, as he came wandering by my door, to be taken by the constables and bounden to a tree in the street, before the whole town; and there they striped him with rods therefore, till he waxed weary, and somewhat longer. And it appeared well that his remembrance was good enough, save that it went about in grazing till it was beaten home. For he could then very well rehearse his faults himself, and speak and treat very well, and promise to do afterward as well. And verily, God be thanked! I hear none harm of him now.

'And of all who ever came in my hand for heresy, as help me God! saving, as I said, the sure keeping of them (and yet not so sure neither, but that George Constantine could steal away), else had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fillip on the forehead.

* * * * * * * * *

'And now dare I say, that if this pacifier had by experience known the truth of that kind of people, he would not have given so much credence to their lamentable complainings —— Howbeit, what faith my words will have with him, in these mine own causes, I can not very surely say; nor yet very greatly care. And yet stand I not in so much doubt of myself, but that I trust well, that among many good and honest men (among which sort of folk I trust I may reckon him), mine own word would alone, even in mine own cause, be somewhat better believed, than would the oaths of some twain of this new brotherhood in a matter of another man.'

# CHAP. IV.

*More's anticipation of his fate.... He withdraws from public business.... His remark on Henry's second marriage, and advice to Cromwell.... His behaviour to the bishops.... Malignant scrutiny on his conduct.... The nun of Kent.... More's letter to Cromwell, and a curious anecdote.... More accused of misprision of treason.... Conduct of the committee for examining him.... More's firmness.... His letter to the king.... He is accused of ingratitude.... His reply.... Anecdote on his return home.... The king's conduct.... More's name erased from the bill.... Acts passed in parliament.... Henry's triumph in his new titles.... Opinions of the Romish party, and of their adversaries.... More refuseth the oath of succession.... He is cited to appear at Lambeth.... His foreboding, and letter to his daughter.... Cranmer's argument, and his curious letter.... More and Fisher committed to the Tower, and attainted.... More's sentiments on the king's marriage, and the pope's primacy.*

His voluntary resignation of this world's dignity was the signal for More's rapid declension from his high elevation, to the lowest point of this world's misery; and, his acquaintance with Henry's character enabled him to anticipate the troubles of his latter days long before their event.

'He would talk,' says Mr. Roper, 'unto his wife and children of the joys of heaven and pains of hell, of the lives of holy martyrs, of their grievous martyrdoms, of their marvellous patience, and of their passions and deaths; which they suffered rather than they would offend God. And what a happy and blessed thing it was, for the love of God to suffer the loss of goods, imprisonment, loss of lands, and life also.—Wherewith, and the like virtuous talk, he had so long before his trouble encouraged them, that when he afterward fell into trouble indeed, his trouble was to them a great deal the less.'

When he resigned his office, More withdrew his attention entirely from public affairs, and devoted himself to prayer and to his writings. He lessened his establishment, sold a part of his effects, and sent his children to their own houses. He is said to have passed many sleepless nights in the anticipation of his fate, and to have prayed with fervour for courage under it,—for his flesh, he said, *could not endure a fillip.* He once went so far as to hire a pursuivant to come on a sudden at dinner-time to his house, and, knocking hastily at the door, to summon him before the council the next day. This was to prepare his family for what they had to expect.*

When the king married Ann Boleyn, *God give grace son,* said Sir Thomas to Mr. Roper, *that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths.*

* More,

One day when Thomas Cromwell came to him at Chelsea with a message from the king, More said to him, 'Mr. Cromwell you are now entered into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince. If you will follow my poor advice, you shall in your counsel-giving to his grace, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to do; so shall you shew yourself a true, faithful servant, and a right worthy counsellor. For, if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.'* More's great-grandson adds, that Cromwell never learned this lesson, for he advised Henry *as he thought would please him.*

Shortly before the new queen's coronation, More received a letter from the bishops of Durham, Bath, and Winchester, requesting him to keep them company from the Tower to the coronation at Westminster, and to accept of £20 which they sent at the same time to buy him a gown. More received the money but remained at home, and told their lordships when he saw them, that as he had complied with one of their requests, he was the bolder in refusing the other.

Their conduct, he added, put him in mind of an emperor who made a law, that whoever committed a certain offence, unless the offender was a virgin, should suffer death. Now it happened that the first offender was a virgin, and the emperor was in some perplexity how to act, for he wished to enforce his law. When his council had debated the

* Roper.

matter for some time, a good, plain man arose and said, why make ye so much ado my lords about so small a matter?—let her be first deflowered and thereafter may she be devoured. 'And so though your lordships,' continued the knight, 'have in the matter of the matrimony hitherto kept yourselves pure virgins, yet take good heed my lords that ye keep your virginity still. For some there be who, by procuring your lordships first at the coronation to be present, and next to preach for the setting-forth of it, and finally to write books to all the world in defence thereof, are desirous to deflower ye; and when they have deflowered ye, then will they not fail soon after to devour ye. Now, my lords, it lieth not in my power but that they may devour me, but, God being my good Lord, I will so provide that they shall never deflower me.'

It hath been conjectured that these words were reported to the queen, and that she incensed her consort against More. But it is perhaps more probable, that considering his great weight and influence in the kingdom, and perceiving that no persuasions were likely to move the knight to favour the divorce, the bad part of Henry's disposition began now to prevail, and that he determined to adopt harsher measures against More, which led in the end to one of the deepest stains in his reign.

At least malignant scrutiny appears from this time to have been exercised with diligence, in discovering some

* Roper.

ground of accusation against him. In his English works is preserved a letter from More to Thomas Cromwell, vindicating himself against a false report which had been circulated, that he had written an answer to the king's justification of his appeal from the pope. But Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the Holy maid of Kent, her ravings and revelations, soon afforded the enemies of More a fairer occasion for the exercise of their malignity. A curious letter from More to Cromwell, which throws the strongest light upon this subject, and which was probably written for the king's eye, hath been preserved, and is here presented to the reader as affording an authentic history of the transaction.

*Sir Thomas More to Mr. Thomas Cromwell.*

Right Worshipful,

'After my most hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your goodness in accepting of my rude long letter,—I perceive that of your farther goodness and favour toward me, it liked your mastership to break with my son Roper, of that that I had had communication, not only with divers who were of acquaintance with the lewd nun of Canterbury, but also with herself; and had over that, by my writing declaring favour toward her, given her advice and counsel. Of which my demeanor, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon myself therein right deeply beholden to you.

'It is, I suppose, about eight or nine years ago since I heard of that housewife first. At which time the bishop of Canterbury that then was (God absolve his soul!) sent unto the king's grace a roll of paper, in which were written certain words of hers, which she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her trances. Whereupon it pleased the king's grace to deliver me the roll, commanding me to look thereon and afterward shew him what I thought therein. Whereunto at another time, when his highness asked me, I told him, that in good faith I found nothing in those words that I could anything regard or esteem. For, seeing that some part fell in rhythm, and *that* God wots full rude also! for any reason God wots! that I saw therein, a right simple woman might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I said, that because it was constantly reported for a truth that God wrought in her, and that a miracle was shewed upon her, I durst not, nor would not be bold in judging the matter. And the king's grace, as methought esteemed the matter as light, as it after proved lewd.

From that time till about christmas was twelvemonth, albeit that continually there was much talking of her and of her holiness, yet never heard I any talk rehearsed either of revelation of hers or miracle; saving that I heard say, divers times, in my lord cardinal's days, that she had been both with his lordship and with the king's grace. But what she said, either to the one or to the other, upon my faith I had never heard any one word.

"Now, as I was about to tell you, about christmas was twelvemonth, father Risby, friar observant, then of Canterbury, lodged one night at my house. Where, after supper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the nun; giving her high commendation of holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and undersand the works which God wrought in her. Which thing, I answered, that I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me that she had been with my lord legate in his life, and with the king's grace too. And that she had told my lord legate a revelation of hers, of three swords which God had put in my lord legate's hand; which if he ordered not well, God would lay it sore to his charge. The first, she said, was the ordering the spirituality under the pope as legate; the second, the rule that he bore in order of the temporality under the king as his chancellor; and the third, she said, was the meddling he was put in trust with by the king, concerning the great matter of his marriage. And therewithal I said unto him, that any revelation of the king's matters I would not hear of; I doubted not but the goodness of God should direct his highness with his grace and wisdom, that the thing should take such end as God should be pleased with, to the king's honour and surety of the realm. When he heard me say these words or the like, he said unto me, that God had specially commanded her to pray for the king. And forthwith he brake again into her revelations concerning the cardinal,—that his soul was saved by her mediation; and without any other communication, went unto his chamber. And he

and I never talked any more of any such manner of matter. Nor, since his departing on the morrow, I never saw him after, to my remembrance, till I saw him at Paul's cross.

After this, about shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before supper, father Rich, friar observant of Richmond. And as we fell in talking, I asked him of father Risby how he did? And upon that occasion he asked me, whether father Risby had any thing shewed me of the holy nun of Kent. And I said *yea*, and that I was very glad to hear of her virtue. *I would not*, quoth he, *tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard and known many great graces which God hath wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I would gladly tell you if I thought you had not heard them already.* And therewith he asked me, whether father Risby had told me any thing of her being with my lord cardinal? And I said *yea. Then he told you*, quoth he, *of the three swords. Yea verily*, quoth I. *Did he tell you*, quoth he, *of the revelations which she had concerning the king's grace? Nay forsooth*, quoth I, *nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed; for since she hath been with the king's grace herself and told him, methought it a thing needless to tell me or to any man else.* And when father Rich perceived that I would not hear her revelations concerning the king's grace, he talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revelations alone. And therewith my supper was set upon the board, where I required him

to sit with me; but he would in nowise tarry, but departed to London.

'After that night I talked with him twice; once in mine own house, another time in his own garden at the friars. At every time a great space, but not of any revelations touching the king's grace; but only of other mean folk I know not whom, of which things some were very strange and some were very childish. But albeit that he said he had seen her lie in her trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great spiritual comfort in her communication, yet did he never tell me that she had told him those tales herself. For if he had, I would for the tale o. Mary Magdalen which he told me, and for the tale of the host with which, as I have heard, she said she was houseled at the king's mass at Calais, if I had heard it of him as told unto himself by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same tale of Rich or of Risby, or of neither of them both, but of some other man since she was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell. But I wot well when or wheresoever I heard it, methought it a tale too marvellous to be true; and very likely that she had told some man her dream who told it out for a revelation. And in effect I little doubted, but that some of these tales which were told of her were untrue. But yet, since I never heard them reported as spoken by her own mouth, I thought nevertheless that many of them might be true, and she a very virtuous woman too. As some lies be peradventure written of some who be saints,

in heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

'After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the fathers together at the grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things which some of them misliked in her. And in this talking, they wished that I had spoken with her, and said they would fain see how I should like her. Whereupon, afterward when I heard that she was there again, I came thither to see her and to speak with her myself. At which communication, had in a little chapel, there were none present but we two. In the beginning whereof I shewed, that my coming to her was not of any curious mind anything to know, of such things as folk talked that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her. But for the great virtue which I had heard so many years, every day more and more, spoken and reported of her, I therefore had a great mind to see her and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers. Whereunto she gave me a very good, virtuous answer; that, as God did of his goodness far better by her than she a poor wretch was worthy, so she feared that many folk yet beside that spoke, of their own favourable minds, many things for her far above the truth. And that of me she had many such things heard, that already she prayed for me and ever would. Whereof I heartily thanked her.

'I said unto her, *Madam, one Hellen, a maiden dwelling about Tottenham, of whose trances and revelations there hath been much talking, she hath been with me of late, and shewed me that she was with you; and that, after the rehearsal of such visions as she had seen, you shewed her that they were no revelations, but plain illusions of the devil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind. And verily she gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto such visions of her own. Whereupon she saith, she findeth your words true; for ever since, she hath been the less visited with such things as she was wont to be before.* To this she answered me,—*Forsooth sir, there is in this point no praise unto me, but the goodness of God as it appeareth hath wrought much meekness in her soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well and not grudged to hear her spirit and her visions reproved.* I liked her in good faith better for this answer, than for many of these things that I heard reported by her. Afterward she told me upon that occasion, how great need folk have who are visited with such visions, to take heed and prove well of what spirit they come of. And in that communication she told me, that of late the devil, in likeness of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken. And being in hands, suddenly changed in their sight who were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid and threw him out at a window.

'For conclusion —— we talked no word of the king's

grace or any great personage else, nor in effect of any man or woman but of herself and myself. But after no long communication had (for ere ever we met my time came to go home), I gave her a double-ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her and neve spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a grea good opinion of her and had her in great estimation, a you shall perceive by the letter which I wrote unto her For afterward—because I had often heard that many righ worshipful folks, as well men as women, used to have much communication with her; and many folk are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes into such talking, that better were it to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of charity —— therefore I wrote her a letter thereof. Which, since it may be peradventure that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very copy thereof in this present letter. These were the very words;

*Good Madam and my right dearly-beloved Sister in our Lord God!*

'After most hearty commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth; and pardon me that I am so homely, as of myself, unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you; of whom, for the good inspirations and great revelations, which it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew (as many wise, well-learned, and very virtuous folk testify), I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask ad-

vice. For surely, good madam, since it pleaseth God sometimes to suffer such as are far under, and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such others as are in the light of the spirit so far above them, that there were between them no comparison (as he suffered his high prophet Moses to be in some things advised and counselled by Jethro), I cannot, for the love which in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly necessary to be by your wisdom considered, referring the end and the order thereof to God and his holy spirit to direct you. Good madam I doubt not but that you remember, that in the beginning of my communication with you, I shewed you that I neither was nor would be curious, of any knowledge of other men's matters. And least of all of any matter of princes or of the realm. In case it so were that God had, as to many good folks beforetime he hath, any time revealed unto you such things, I said unto your ladyship that I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also *would not hear of them.*

'Now madam I consider well, that many folk desire to speak with you, who are not all peradventure of my mind in this point. But some hap to be curious and inquisitive of things which little pertain unto their parts; and some might peradventure hap to talk of such things as might peradventure afterward turn to much harm. As I think you have heard how the late duke of Buckingham was moved with the fame of one who was reported for an holy

monk, and had such talking with him as afterward was a great part of his destruction and disheriting of his blood, and great slander and infamy of religion. It sufficeth me, good madam, to put you in remembrance of such things. As I nothing doubt, your wisdom and the spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any person (specially with high persons), of any such manner of things as pertain to prince's affairs, or the state of the realm. But only to commune and talk with any person, high and low, of such manner of things, as may to the soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know.

'And thus, my good lady and dearly-beloved sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you: Whom the blessed Trinity preserve and increase in grace; and put in your mind, to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout prayers. At Chelsea, this Tuesday, by the hand of

Your hearty-loving brother and bedesman,

THOMAS MORE, K^t.

'At the receipt of this letter, she answered my servant, that she heartily thanked me. Soon after this, there came to mine house, the prior of the charterhouse at Shene, and one Brother Williams with him. Who nothing talked to me, but of her and of the great joy that they took in her virtue; but of any of her revelations they had no communication But at another time Brother Williams came

to me and told me a long tale, of her being at the house of a knight in Kent who was sore-troubled with temptations to destroy himself. And none other thing we talked of, nor should have done of likelihood though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good man! to tell the tale with all the circumstances at length.

'When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was a profession, some of the fathers asked me how I liked the nun? And I answered, that in good faith I liked her very well in her talking; *howbeit*, quoth I, *she is never the nearer tried by that: For I assure ye, she were likely to be very bad, if she seemed good, ere I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught.* And in good faith that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth upon likelihood of some cloaked evil. For in that case, although I nothing suspected the person myself, yet, no less than if I suspected him sore, I would, as far as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth; as yourself hath done very prudently in this matter. Wherein you have done, in my mind to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious deed, in bringing-forth to light such detestable hypocrisy. Whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to set-forth their own devilish-dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God. For verily this woman so handled herself with help of that evil spirit who inspired her, that, after her own confession declared at Paul's-cross, when I sent word by my servant unto the prior of

the charterhouse that she was undoubtedly proved a false, deceiving hypocrite, the good man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantly believe me therein. Howbeit, it was not he alone who thought her so very good, but many another right good man beside; as little marvel was, upon so good report, till she was proved naught.'

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A curious anecdote attends this letter. When More's English works were printed by order of queen Mary, this letter was concealed, though not destroyed. It was resolved, it seems, to raise the credit of the nun's story, who, being acknowledged a martyr as well as a prophetess, might perhaps have obtained canonization; and it was judged imprudent, no doubt, to leave so high a testimony as this from More in her way.

1534. The session of parliament holden early in 1534, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this imposture. Elizabeth herself, and several others, suffered for their crime; while Fisher and others were condemned for misprision of treason, because they had not discovered what they heard from Elizabeth.

More's name was at first included in the latter bill, and

† Burnet ex M.S.S. Norfolc.

Mr. Roper informs us that the knight solicited to be himself heard by the king in his own defence. Henry, however, appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk and Cromwell to examine him; and when Mr. Roper advised More with anxiety to use his interest with these commissioners to obtain his discharge from the bill, he answered *he would.*

The committee, however, soon threw-off the mask, and proved plainly enough by their proceedings, that the affair of the nun was merely *a handle* on this occasion. For instead of insisting on that point, the chancellor began by recapitulating to More the king's favours, adding, that he could ask no worldly promotion which would be denied him, and hoping, in conclusion, that this view of his majesty's affection toward him, would induce the knight to recompence the king in his turn, and to add his consent to *what the parliament, the bishops, and the universities had already passed.*

More, continues Mr. Roper, mildly replied,—'No man living is there my lords, who would with better will do the thing which should be acceptable to the king's highness, than I; who must needs confess, his manifold goodness and bountiful benefits, most liberally bestowed on me. Howbeit I verily hoped, I should never have heard of this matter more; considering that I have from time to time, alway from the beginning, so plainly and truly declared my mind unto his grace, which his highness ever seemed to me,

like a most gracious prince, very well to accept, never minding, as he said, to molest me more therewith. Since which time, any farther thing which was able to move me to any change could I never find. And if I could, there is none in all the world who would have been gladder of it than I.'

The knight had likewise addressed to his majesty the following letter relative to the affair of the nun; in which it seemeth that he thought it advisable to hold his king in remembrance of what his majesty had formerly promised as to the knight's honour.

*Sir Thomas More to King Henry VIII.*

'It may like your highness to call to your gracious remembrance, that at such time as, of the great weighty room and office of your chancellor (with which, so far above my merits or qualities able and meet therefore, your highness had of your incomparable goodness honoured and exalted me), you were so good and gracious unto me, as at my poor humble suit to discharge and disburden me, giving me licence with your gracious favour, to bestow the residue of my life to come about the provision for my soul in the service of God, and to be your bedesman and pray for you —— it pleased your highness farther to say unto me, that for the service which I before had done you (which it then liked your goodness far above my deserving to commend), that in any suit which I should after have to your grace, which either should concern mine *honour* (the word

it liked your highness to use unto me), or that should pertain unto my profit, I should find your highness a good and gracious lord unto me.

'So is it now, gracious sovereign, that worldly honour is the thing whereof I have resigned both the possession and the desire, in the resignation of your most honourable office. And worldly profit, I trust experience proveth, and daily more and more shall prove, that I never was very greedy thereof.

'But now is my most humble suit unto your excellent highness, to beseech the same somewhat to tender my poor honesty. Howbeit principally, that of your accustomed goodness, no sinister information move your noble grace, to have any more distrust of my truth and devotion toward you, than I have or shall during my life give cause. For in this matter of the nun of Canterbury, I have unto your trusty counsellor Mr. Thomas Cromwell, by my writing, as plainly declared the truth as I possibly can. Which my declaration, of his duty toward your grace and his goodness toward me, he hath, I understand, declared unto your grace. In any part of all which my dealing, whether any other man may peradventure put any doubt or move any scruple of suspicion, that can I neither tell, nor lieth it in my hand to let. But unto myself it is not possible any part of my said demeanour to seem *evil*, the very clearness of mine own conscience knoweth in all that matter my mind and intent so *good*.

'Wherefore, most gracious sovereign, I neither will, nor yet can it well become me, with your highness to reason or argue that matter; but in my most humble manner, prostrate at your gracious feet, I only beseech your grace, with your own high prudence and your accustomed goodness, consider and weigh the matter. And if that in your so doing, your *own* virtuous mind shall give you, that notwithstanding the manifold and excellent goodness that your gracious highness hath by so many manner of ways used unto me, I were a wretch of such a monstrous ingratitude, as could with any of them all, or any other person living, digress from my bounden duty of allegiance toward your good grace, then desire I no farther favour at your gracious hand, than the loss of all that ever I may lose, goods, lands, liberty, and finally my life withal. Whereof the keeping of any part unto myself could never do me a pennyworth of pleasure; but only should my comfort be, that after my short life and your long (which, with continual prosperity to God's pleasure, our Lord of his mercy send you!), I should once meet your grace again in heaven, and there be merry with you. Where among mine other pleasures, this should yet be one; that your grace should surely see there then, that howsoever you take me, I am your true bedeman now, and ever have been, and will be till I die, howsoever your pleasure be to do by me.

'Howbeit, if in the considering of my cause, your high wisdom and gracious goodness perceive (as I verily trust in God you shall), that I none otherwise have demeaned my-

self than well may stand with my bounden duty of faithfulness toward your royal majesty; then in my most humble wise I beseech your most noble grace, that the knowledge of your true gracious persuasion in that behalf may relieve the torment of my present heaviness (conceived of the dread and fear, by that I hear such a grievous bill put by your learned counsel into your high court of parliament against me)—lest your grace might, by some sinister information, be moved any thing to think the contrary.

'Which if your highness do not, as I trust in God and your great goodness, the matter by your own high prudence examined and considered, you will not; then in my most humble manner I beseech your highness farther —— albeit that in respect of my former request this other thing is very slight; yet since your highness hath herebefore, of your more abundant goodness, heaped and accumulated upon me, though I was thereto far unworthy, from time to time, both worship and great honour too; since I now have left all such things, and nothing seek or desire but the life to come, and pray for your grace the while ——it may like your highness of your accustomed benignity, somewhat to tender my poor honesty; and never suffer, by the mean of such a bill put-forth against me, any man to take occasion hereafter against the truth to slander me. Who should yet, by the peril of their own souls, do themselves more hurt than me; who shall, I trust, settle my heart, with your gracious favour, to depend upon the comfort of the truth

and hope of heaven, and not upon the fallible opinion, or soon-spoken words, of light and soon-changeable people.

'And thus, most dread and most dear sovereign lord, I beseech the blessed Trinity preserve your most noble grace both body and soul, and all who are your well-willers, and amend all the contrary. Among whom, if ever I be, or ever have been one, then pray I God, that he may with mine open shame and destruction declare it.'

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When the committee found that no persuasions would move More in the determination he had made, they had recourse to threats, and told him that the king had ordered, if gentleness would not win him, that in his name they should charge him with ingratitude,—*that never was there servant to his sovereign so villanous, nor subject to his prince so traiterous, as he. For he, by subtle, sinister slights, most unnaturally procuring and provoking him to set-forth a book of the assertion of the seven sacraments and maintenance of the pope's authority, had caused him, to his dishonour throughout all christendom, to put a sword in the pope's hand to fight against himself.*†

'My lords,' replied More, 'these terrors be arguments for children and not for me. But to answer to that, wherewith ye do chiefly burden me,—I believe the king's highness, of his honour, will never lay that to my charge; for

* Eng. works. † Roper.

none is there who can in that point say in my excuse more than his highness himself. Who right well knoweth, that I was never procurer nor counsellor of his majesty thereunto, but after it was finished, by his grace's appointment, and consent of the maker's of the same, I was only a sorter-out and placer of the principal matters therein contained. Wherein when I found the pope's authority highly advanced, and with strong arguments mightily defended, I said unto his grace, *I must put your highness in remembrance of one thing, and that is this. The pope, as your grace knoweth, is a prince as you are, and in league with all other christian princes. It may so hereafter fall-out, that your grace and he may vary upon some points of leagues, whereupon may grow breach of amity and war between ye both. I think it best therefore that that place be amended, and his authority more slenderly touched.*

'*Nay,*' quoth his grace, '*that shall it not. We are so much bounden to the see of Rome, that we cannot do too much honour to it.*

'Then did I farther put him in remembrance of the statute of premunire, whereby a good part of the pope's pastoral cure here was pared away. To that answered his highness, *whatsoever impediment be to the contrary, we will set-forth that authority to the uttermost, for we receive from that see our crown imperial;* which I never heard-of before till his grace told it me with his own mouth. So that I trust, when his grace shall be once truly informed of this, and

call to his gracious remembrance my doings in that behalf, his highness will never speak of it more, but clear me therein thoroughly himself.'——*And thus displeasantly departed they*, adds Mr. Roper.

More now took boat for Chelsea and was very merry by the way. Mr. Roper rejoicing to see him so, hoped he was discharged from the bill. When they reached Chelsea, they walked together in the garden, and Mr. Roper observed, *I trust sir that all is well, because that you be so merry.*

*It is so indeed son Roper, I thank God!* answered the knight.

*Are you then put-out of the parliament bill?*——

*By my truth, son Roper, I never remembered it.*——

*Never remembered it! a cause that toucheth yourself so near, and us all for your sake! I am sorry to hear it; for I verily trusted when I saw you so merry, that all had been well.*

*Wilt thou know, son Roper, why I was so merry?*

*That would I gladly, sir.*——

*In good faith I rejoiced, son, that I had given the devil*

*foul fall; and that with those lords I had gone so far, as without great shame I could never go back again.*

Henry, as might be expected, was highly offended with More for what was little less than charging him with a deliberate falsehood, and in his unjust revenge he said the bill regarding the nun *should* proceed against the knight. The chancellor and other lords replied, the upper-house was so bent on hearing him in his own defence, that *it were best* to rescind his name from the bill. Henry was, however, too much bent on carrying his point, not to reject this proposal. He was too haughty to submit to a subject with whom he had entered the lists, and too revengeful to forgive a man who had been his favourite and yet had dared to offend him. After a good deal of bouncing, he said he would himself be present in the house when the bill should pass; imagining, no doubt, that the parliament stood so much in awe of him, that the lords would not dare in his presence to reject it.

The committee of council, however, were of a different opinion. They feared, or pretended to fear, the talents and eloquence of Sir Thomas, which were superior and commanding; nor did they deem it prudent to hazard his appearance to plead in his own defence, whose virtues and amiable conduct had prejudiced so many in his favour before he spoke.*

* Roper and Warner.

But the more they pressed Henry to give way, the haughtier he grew in insisting on his point. Whether they really apprehended a defeat, or whether they contended with the king in this manner from the personal friendship they had for Sir Thomas, it is difficult to say. If we recollect the tyranny with which Henry treated his parliaments we shall perhaps ascribe their arguments to the latter cause, or to the apprehension of the people's clamour if he was attainted as the accomplice of so weak an impostor.

Audley and the rest (says Mr. Roper) at last besought Henry *on their knees*, to forbear; adding, *they mistrusted not, in time, against him to find some meet matter to serve the king's turn better. For in this cause of the nun he was accounted so innocent and clear, that for his dealings therein, men reckoned him far worthier of praise than of reproof.*

Henry at length complied; and Cromwell meeting Mr. Roper on the morrow, desired him to tell More, that his name was erased from the bill. When the knight heard this from Mrs. Roper, *in faith Megg*, he said, *quod differtur non aufertur.**

The confidence which Henry's ministers expressed of finding *meet matter* to serve their master's turn, as well as More's last-mentioned prediction, proved but too correct. When the nun of Kent afforded not a substantial ground

* Roper.

for his persecution, other subjects were not wanting which soon led to the tragedy of his cruel death.

In this year were passed,

I. The important law which regulated the succession to the crown;* by which the marriage of Henry with Catharine was declared void; the sentence annulling the marriage, which Cranmer, now primate, had passed, was ratified; and the king's marriage with Ann was confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing such, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath was moreover required in favour of this succession, under penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and of forfeiture of goods and chattels.

II. The parliament conferred on Henry the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England.† By which, exclaimed the Romish party, the king and those he commissioned were made sole judges in matters of faith, and all ecclesiastical discipline was entrusted to them; the commission which our Saviour had granted his apostles and their successors was set aside by a human law, and the authority they derived from heaven transferred to the state; the care of souls was made to devolve on the civil power, and the being of christianity to depend on the will of the magistrate.

* 25 Hen. VIII. 22. † 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

III. An act was passed,* by which it was made high treason for any person to maliciously wish, will, or desire, by words or writing, to deprive the king's most royal person, the queen, or their heirs apparent, or any of them, of the dignity, title or name of their royal estates.

Soon after the second of these acts, a Latin bible was published, and in his majesty's general preface he thus triumphed in his new title.

'Nos itaque considerantes id erga Deum officii nostri, quo suscepisse cognoscimur, ut in regno simus sicut anima in corpore et sol in mundo, utque loco Dei judicium exerceamus in regno nostro, et omnia in potestate habentes, quoad jurisdictionem, ipsam etiam ecclesiam vice Dei sedulo regamus ac tueamur, et disciplinæ ejus, sive augeatur aut solvatur, nos ei rationem reddituri simus qui nobis eam credidit, et in eo Dei vicem agentes Deique habentes imaginem; quid aliud vel cogitare vel in animam inducere potuimus, quam ut eodem confugeremus, ubi certo discendum esset, ne quid aliud vel ipsi faceremus, vel faciendum aliis præscriberemus, quam quod ab hac ipsa Dei lege ne vel transversum quidem digitum aberrare convinci queat.'

We have also another instance of Henry's triumph, in what Mr. Evelyn justly calls his *remarkable medalion;* the legend of which, in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, provoked the remark, that Henry crucified the church as Pilate had

* Ibid. c. 13.

done her Saviour, with the solemnity of three inscriptions. A representation of this medal may be seen in Mr. Evelyn's Numismata.

The Romish party in those days it seems understood by head of the church, chief spiritual shepherd, as if the king had power to administer sacraments, ordain priests, &c.; for all which they considered a layman as unqualified. But their adversaries contended that the term was only intended to declare the prince superior to the prelates who exempted themselves from his authority by their immunities, as well as superior to the laity; and that he was not subject to the pope, who claimed jurisdiction over all princes and countries. The king, said the latter, did not by this title challenge power to debate, or determine any point of faith or matter of religion, much less to be supreme judge or governor of all doctrine and discipline. But would the subject in his realm have the assistance of the magistrate, to establish truth and prohibit error, and by wholesome punishments to prevent disorder, that authority laid neither in prelate nor in pope, but in the prince; and in his dominions neither doctrine nor discipline could be established by public law, but by his consent.

The oath of succession was generally taken, and bishop Fisher and More were the only persons of note who entertained scruples as to its legality. More's high reputation for virtue and integrity made it supposed that his authority would influence others, and great pains were taken to con-

vince him on this point. But the knight was immoveable, probably because the preamble of the oath implied, that the marriage with Catharine was unlawful; and whatever we think of his persuasion on this head, the integrity of his conscience we must admire.

Mr. Roper relates that the duke of Norfolk said one day to More,—'by the mass Mr. More, it is perilous striving with princes; therefore I would wish you somewhat to incline to the king's pleasure, for, by God's body! Mr. More, *indignatio principis mors est.*'——'Is that all my lord?' replied More; 'then in good faith the difference between your grace and me is but this; that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow.'

About a month after the law for the oath was passed, certain clergy of London and Westminster, and More, were cited to appear at Lambeth before Cranmer, Audley, and Cromwell, who were appointed to tender the oath unto them. More, as was his custom on important occasions, went to mass that morning; *and whereas*, continues Mr. Roper, *he evermore used before, at his departure from his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, to have them bring him to his boat and there to kiss them and bid them all farewell, then would he suffer none of them forth the gate to follow him, but pulled the wicket after him and shut them all from him.* His countenance, adds Mr. Roper, who accompanied him in the boat to Lambeth, bespoke a heavy heart;

and *sitting still sadly awhile*, at last he suddenly whispered to him, *son Roper, I thank our Lord! the field is won.*

As his mind appears to have predicted, More was not permitted to return home from this summons; and he wrote his favourite daughter an account of the proceedings at Lambeth, which here followeth.

*Sir Thomas More to Mrs. Margaret Roper.*

'When I was before the Lords at Lambeth, I was the first who was called in; albeit that Mr. Dr. the vicar of Croydon was come before me, and divers others. After the cause of my sending-for declared unto me, whereof I somewhat marvelled in my mind, considering that they sent for no more temporal men but me, I desired the sight of the oath; which they shewed me under the great seal. Then desired I the sight of the act of the succession; which was delivered me in a printed roll.

'After which read secretly by myself, and the oath considered with the act, I shewed unto them, that my purpose was not to put any fault either in the act or any man who made it, or in the oath or any man who sware it, nor to condemn the conscience of any other man; but as for *myself*, in good faith my conscience so moved me in the matter, that though I would not deny to swear to the succession, yet unto that oath which there was offered me I could not swear, without the jeoparding of my soul to perpetual

damnation. And that if they doubted, whether I did refuse the oath only for the grudge of my conscience, or for any other fantasy, I was ready therein to satisfy them by mine oath: Which if they trusted not, what should they be the better to give me any oath? And if they trusted that I would therein swear true, then trusted I, that of their goodness they would not move me to swear the oath which they offered me, perceiving that for to swear it was against my conscience.

'Unto this my lord chancellor said, that they all were very sorry to hear me say thus, and see me thus refuse the oath. And they said all, that on their faith I was the very first who ever refused it; which would cause the king's highness to conceive great suspicion of me, and great indignation toward me. And therewith they shewed me the roll, and let me see the names of the lords and the commons, who had sworn and subscribed their names already. Which, notwithstanding, when they saw that I refused to swear the same myself, not blaming any other man who had sworn, I was in conclusion commanded to go down into the garden.

'And thereupon I tarried in the old burned chamber which looketh into the garden, and would not go down because of the heat. In that time saw I Mr. Dr. Latimer come into the garden, and there walked he with divers other doctors and chaplains of my lord of Canterbury. And very merry I saw him; for he laughed, and took one

or twain about the neck so handsomely, that if they had been women I would have weened he had been waxen wanton. After that came Mr. Dr. Wilson forth from the lords, and was with two gentlemen brought by me, and gentlemanly sent straight unto the Tower. What time my lord of Rochester was called-in before them, that can I not tell. But at night I heard that he had been before them; but where he remained that night, and so forth till he was sent hither, I never heard. I heard also that Mr. vicar of Croydon, and all the remnant of the priests of London who were sent for, were sworn. And that they had such favour at the council's hand, that they were not lingered, nor made to dance any long attendance to their travail and cost, as suitors are sometimes wont to be, but were sped apace to their great comfort. So far forth, that Mr. vicar of Croydon, either for gladness or for dryness, or else that it might be seen *quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my lord's buttery-bar and called for drink, and drank *valde familiariter*.

'When they had played their pageant and were gone out of the place, then was I called-in again. And then was it declared unto me, what a number had sworn even since I went aside, gladly, without any sticking. Wherein I laid no blame in no man; but for mine own self, answered as before.

'Now as well before as then, they somewhat laid unto me for obstinacy; that whereas before, since I refused to

swear, I would not declare any special part of that oath which grudged my conscience, and open the cause *wherefore*. For thereunto I had said unto them, that I feared lest the king's highness would, as they said, take displeasure enough toward me for the only refusal of the oath. And that if I should open and disclose the causes *why*, I should therewith but farther exasperate his highness. Which I would in nowise do; but rather would I abide all the danger and harm which might come toward me, than give his highness any occasion of farther displeasure, than the offering of the oath unto me, of pure necessity constrained me. Howbeit when they divers times imputed this to me for stubbornness and obstinacy, that I would neither swear the oath nor yet declare the causes *why*, I declined thus far toward them, that rather than I would be accounted for obstinate, I would upon the king's gracious licence, or rather his such commandment had, as might be my sufficient warrant that my declaration should not offend his highness nor put me in the danger of any of his statutes, I would be content to declare the causes in writing. And over that, to give an oath in the beginning, that if I might find those causes by any man in suchwise answered, as I might think mine own conscience satisfied, I would after that, with all mine heart, swear the principal oath too.

'To this I was answered, that though the king would give me licence under his letters patent, yet would it not serve against the statute. Whereto I said, that yet if I had them, I would stand unto the trust of his honour, at my peril for

the remnant. But yet thinketh me lo! that if I may not declare the causes without peril, then to leave them undeclared is no *obstinacy*.

'My lord of Canterbury, taking hold upon that that I said, *that I condemned not the consciences of them who swear*, said unto me, that it appeared well that I did not take it for a very sure thing and a certain, that I might *not* lawfully swear it; but rather as a thing uncertain and doubtful. *But then*,' said my lord, '*you know for a certainty, and a thing without doubt, that you be bounden to obey your sovereign lord your king. And therefore are you bounden to leave-off the doubt of your unsure conscience in refusing the oath, and take the sure way in obeying of your prince, and swear it.*

'Now all was it so that in mine own mind methought myself not concluded, yet this argument seemed me suddenly so subtle, and namely, with such authority coming out of so noble a prelate's mouth, that I could again answer nothing thereto, but only that I thought myself I might not well do so; because that in my conscience this was one of the cases, in which I was bounden that I should not obey my prince. Since that whatsoever other folk thought in the matter, whose conscience or learning I would not condemn nor take upon me to judge, yet in my conscience the truth seemed on the other side. Wherein I had not informed my conscience neither suddenly nor slightly, but by long leisure and diligent search for the matter.

And of truth if *that* reason may conclude, then have we a ready way to avoid all perplexities. For in whatsoever matter the doctors stand in great doubt, the king's commandment, given upon whether side he list, solveth all the doubts.

'Then said my lord of Westminster to me, that howsoever the matter seemed unto mine own mind, I had cause to fear that mine own mind was erroneous, when I see the great council of the realm determine of my mind the contrary; and that therefore I ought to change my conscience. To that I answered, that if there were no more but myself upon my side, and the whole parliament upon the other, I would be sore afraid to lean to mine own mind only, against so many. But on the other side, if it so be that in some things for which I refuse the oath, I have, as I think I have, upon my part as great a council and a greater too, I am not then bounden to change my conscience, and conform it to the council of one realm against the general council of christendom.

'Upon this Mr. Secretary, as he who tenderly favoureth me, said and swear a great oath, that he had leaver that his own only son (who is of truth a goodly young gentleman, and shall, I trust, come to much worship) had lost his head, than that I should thus have refused the oath. For surely the king's highness would now conceive a great suspicion against me, and think that the matter of the nun of Canterbury was all contrived by my drift. To which I said,

that the contrary was true and well known; and whatsoever should mishap me, it lay not in my power to help it, without the peril of my soul.

'Then did my lord chancellor repeat before me my refusal unto Mr. Secretary, as to him who was going unto the king's grace. And in the rehearsing, his lordship repeated again, that I denied not, but was content to swear unto the succession. Whereunto I said, that as for that point, *I would* be content, so that I might see my oath in that point so framed, in such a manner as might stand with my conscience. Then said my lord, *mary Mr. Secretary mark that too, that he will not swear that neither but under some certain manner. Verily no my lord,* quoth I; *but that I will see it made in suchwise first, as I shall myself see that I shall neither be forsworne, nor swear against my conscience.*

'Surely as to swear to the succession, I see no peril. But I thought, and think it reason, that to mine own oath I look well myself and be of counsel also in the fashion; and never intended to swear for a piece, and set my hand to the whole oath. Howbeit, as help me God! as touching the whole oath, I never withdrew any man from it; nor never advised any to refuse it; nor never put, nor will put, any scruple in any man's head; but leave every man to his own conscience. And methinketh in good faith, that so were it good reason, that every man should leave me to mine.'*

* English works.

We scarcely know whether to be most surprised, that such an argument of mere sound as we have heard should have proceeded from Cranmer, should for a moment have influenced More, or should have had any weight with Burnet. *Every man,* saith S^t^. Paul, *should be fully persuaded in his own mind,—and though nothing be unclean of itself, yet to him who esteemeth anything unclean, to him it is unclean; and he who doubteth is damned if he eat.* Thus, though obedience to the king and the laws was a thing right in itself, and the duty of every subject; yet if it appeared to More that the oath was contrary to the law of God (to which another law had restrained the power of the legislature), he was so far from being obliged in conscience to take this oath, that he would have violated his conscience and been self-condemned had he taken it. Others who saw nothing in the oath which they thought contrary to the law of God, were not blamed by More, it is true, for taking it, for they had only done their duty; but Cranmer's conclusion, that More was only *doubtful* in this matter, by no means followed. He was, on the contrary, *well persuaded,* that it would be sinful in him to take the oath, who thought it contrary to the law of God.*

On the abbot of Westminster's reasoning, there needeth no other reflection than Burnet hath made,—it was very fit for so rich an abbot, and discovered the temper of his own conscience.

* See Warner.

For four days, More was committed to the custody of this abbot; during which time, saith Mr. Roper, the king consulted with his council *what order were meet to be taken with him.* Cranmer, foreseeing the ill effect of contending with persons so highly esteemed over the world as More and Fisher, and who were of such a temper that severity would have no influence with them, wrote a curious letter to Cromwell on the occasion, which is preserved in the Cotton library, and places More's estimation in too strong a light, not to demand a place in the present work.

*Archbishop Cranmer to Secretary Cromwell.*

Right Worshipful Mr. Cromwell,

After most hearty commendations, &c.; I doubt not but you do right well remember, that my lord of Rochester and Mr. More were contented to be sworn to the act of the king's succession, but not to the preamble of the same. What was the cause of their refusal thereof I am uncertain, and they would by no means express the same. Nevertheless it must needs be, either the diminution of the authority of the bishop of Rome, or else the reprobation of the king's first pretenced matrimony.

But if they do obstinately persist in their opinions of the preamble, yet meseemeth it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very act of succession, so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers

and potentates. For hereby shall be a great occasion to satisfy the princess dowager, and the lady Mary, who do think that they should damn their souls if they should abandon and relinquish their estates. And not only it should stop the mouths of them, but also of the emperor, and other their friends, if they give as much credence to my lord of Rochester and Mr. More speaking or doing against them, as they hitherto have done and thought that all others should have done when they spake and did with them. And peradventure it should be a good quietation to many others within this realm, if such men should say, that the succession comprised within the said act is good and according to God's laws. For then I think there is not one within this realm who would once reclaim against it.

And whereas divers persons, either of a wilfulness will not, or of an indurate and invertible conscience cannot, alter from their opinions of the king's first pretenced marriage (wherein they have once said their minds, and percase have a persuasion in their heads, that if they should now vary therefrom, their fame and estimation were distained for ever), or else of the authority of the bishop of Rome; yet if all the realm with one accord would apprehend the said succession, in my judgment it is a thing to be amplected and embraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God that it shall be brought to pass, yet hereunto might not a little avail the consent and oaths of these two persons, the bishop of Rochester and Mr. More;

with their adherents or rather confederates. And if the king's pleasure so were, their said oaths might be suppressed, but when and where his highness might take some commodity by the publishing of the same. Thus our Lord have you ever in his conservation. From my manor at Croydon, the 17th day of April,

Your own assured ever,

THOMAS CANTUAR.

But this wise advice was not taken. The king (exasperated by queen Ann, if we may credit Mr. Roper), was much irritated against them, and resolved to proceed with them according to law. They were both indicted on the statute and committed prisoners to the Tower. It being apprehended that if they were allowed the use of pen and paper they would write against the marriage or supremacy, these were after a certain time denied them. When the king sent a general pardon, More and Fisher were not only excluded by general clauses, but by two particular acts, they were attainted of misprision of treason. More in particular, was, by an invidious preamble, charged with ingratitude, for the great favours he had received from the king, and for studying to sow sedition among the king's subjects, and refusing to take the oath of succession; the king's grants to him were therefore declared void, and he was attainted as already related.*

* Roper and Burnet.

Severe and revengeful as was this treatment, some thought it necessary in so important a crisis; lest indulgence to him who had enjoyed so great authority, might encourage others to revolt and be corrupted in their affection to the king. More was certainly not wanting in loyalty, and was willing to take the oath of succession however he disapproved the second marriage. His treason consisted in a point of conscience, and if the severity shewn him was not unjust, it was probably impolitic. If his reputation was high before, his present persecution for a mere opinion, and an opinion which the king and his subjects had so lately favoured, was likely only to raise it higher.

We have in his English works another letter from More to Cromwell, written probably while he was in the custody of the abbot of Westminster, from which we will extract what he writes concerning the king's marriage and the pope's primacy, and therewith conclude the present chapter.

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'Upon a time at my coming from beyond the sea, where I had been on the king's business, I repaired, as my duty was, unto the king's grace, being at that time at Hampton-court. At which time, suddenly his highness, walking in the gallery, brake with me of his great matter; and shewed me, that it was now perceived, that his marriage was not only against the positive laws of the church and the written law of God, but also, in suchwise against the law of nature, that it could in nowise by the church be dispens-

able. Now so was it, before my going over the sea I had heard certain things moved against the bull of the dispensation, concerning the words in the law Levitical and the law Deutronomical, to prove the prohibition to be *de jure divino*. But yet perceived I not at that time, but that the greater hope of the matter stood, in certain faults which were found in the bull; whereby the bull should by the law not be sufficient. And such comfort was there in that point (as far as I perceived), a good season, that the counsel on the other part were fain to bring-forth a brief, by which they pretended those defaults to be supplied. The truth of which brief was by the king's counsel suspected, and much diligence was thereafter done for the trial of that point. Wherein what was finally found, either I never knew, or else I not remember.

But I rehearse you this to the intent you shall know, that the first time that ever I heard that point moved, that it should be in such high degree against the law of nature, was the time in which, as I began tell you, the king's grace shewed it me himself, and laid the Bible open before me; and there read me the words which moved his highness and divers other erudite persons so to think, and asked me farther what myself thought thereon. At which time, not presuming to look that his highness should any thing take that point for the more proved or improved for my poor mind in so great a matter, I shewed nevertheless, as my duty was at his commandment, what thing I thought upon the words which I there read. Whereupon his highness, ac-

cepting benignly my sudden unadvised answer, commanded me to commune farther with Mr. Fox, now his grace's almoner, and to read with him a book which then was in making for that matter.

'After which book read, and my poor opinion eftsoons declared unto his highness thereupon, his highness, like a prudent and a virtuous prince, assembled at another time at Hampton-court a good number of very well-learned men. At which time, as far as ever I heard, there were, as was in so great a matter most likely to be, divers opinions among them. Howbeit, I never heard but that they agreed at that time upon a certain form, in which the book should be made; which was afterward, at York-place in my lord cardinal's chamber read, in the presence of divers bishops and many learned men. And they all thought, that there appeared in the book good and reasonable causes, which might well move the king's highness, being so virtuous a prince, to conceive in his mind a scruple against his marriage. Which, while he could not otherwise avoid, he did well and virtuously, for the acquieting of his conscience, to sue; and procure to have his doubt decided by judgment of the church.

'After this the suit began, and the legates sat upon the matter. During all which time, I never meddled there, nor was a man meet to do; for the matter was in hand by an ordinary process of the spiritual law, whereof I could little skill. And, yet while the legates were sitting upon the

matter, it pleased the king's highness, to send me, in the company of my lord of London, now of Durham, in embassy, about the peace which, at our being there, was concluded at Cambray, between his highness and the emperor and the French king. And after my coming home, his highness, of his only goodness, as far unworthy as I was thereto, made me, as you well know, his chancellor of this realm. Soon after which time, his grace moved me again, yet eftsoons to look and consider his great matter; and well and indifferently to ponder such things as I should find therein. And if it so were, that thereupon it should hap me, to see such things as should persuade me to that part, he would gladly use me among other of his counsellors in the matter. And nevertheless he graciously declared unto me, that he would in nowise that I should other thing do or say therein, than upon *that* that I should perceive mine own conscience should serve me; and that I should first look unto God, and after God unto him; which most gracious words, was the first lesson also that ever his grace gave me, at my first coming into his noble service.

'This motion was to me very comfortable; and much I longed, beside anything that myself either had seen, or by farther search should hap to find for the one part or the other, yet specially to have some conference in the matter with some such of his grace's learned council, as most for his part had laboured and most had found in the matter. Whereupon his highness assigned unto me the now most reverend fathers, archbishops of Canterbury and York, with

Mr. Dr. Fox now his grace's almoner, and Mr. Dr. Nicholas the Italian friar. Whereupon I not only sought and read, and, as far forth as my poor wit and learning served me, well weighed and considered, every such thing as I could find myself, or read in any other man's labour which I could get who anything had written thereon, but had also diligent conference with his grace's counsellors aforesaid. Whose honours and worships I nothing mistrust in this point, but that they both have and will report unto his highness, that they never found obstinate manner or fashion in me; but a mind as toward and as conformable, as reason could in a matter disputable require.

'Whereupon, the king's highness being farther advertised, both by them and by myself, of my poor opinion in the matter,—wherein, to have been able or meet to do him service, I would, as I then shewed his highness, have been more glad than of all such worldly commodities as I either then had or ever should come to —— his highness, graciously taking agreeably my good mind in that behalf, used, of his blessed disposition, in the prosecuting of his great matter, only those (of whom his grace had good number), whose conscience his grace perceived well and fully persuaded upon that part. And as well me, as any other to whom his highness thought the thing to seem otherwise, he used in his other business. Abiding, of his abundant goodness, nevertheless gracious lord unto every man; nor never was willing to put any man in ruffle, or trouble of his conscience.

'After this did I never nothing more therein. Nor never any word wrote I therein to the impairing of his grace's part, neither before nor after. But settling my mind in quiet to serve his grace in other things, I would not so much as look nor let lie by me any book of the other part, albeit that I gladly read afterward divers books which were made on his part. Nor never would I read the book which Mr. Abel made on the other side, nor other books which were as I heard say made in Latin beyond the sea, nor never gave ear to the pope's proceeding in the matter. Moreover, where I had found in my study a book which I had before borrowed of my lord of Bath (which book he had made of the matter, at such time as the legates sat here thereupon) which book had been by me negligently cast aside; and that I shewed him, I would send him home his book again; he told me, that in good faith he had long time before discharged his mind of that matter, and, having forgotten that copy to remain in my hand, had burned his own copy which he had thereof at home. And because he no more minded to meddle anything in the matter, he desired me to burn the same book too; and, upon my faith, so did I!

'Beside this, divers other ways have I so used myself, that if I rehearsed them all it should well appear, that I never have had against his grace's marriage any manner of demeanour, whereby his highness might have any manner of cause or occasion of displeasure toward me. For, likewise as I am not he who either can, or whom it could become to take upon me the determination or decision of

such a weighty matter (whereof divers points a great way pass my learning); so am I he who, among other his grace's faithful subjects, his highness being in possession of his marriage, will most heartily pray for that prosperous estate of his grace long to continue, to the pleasure of God.

'As touching the THIRD point, the primacy of the pope, I nothing meddle in that matter. Truth it is, that, as I told you when you desired me to shew you what I thought therein, I was myself sometime not of the mind, that the primacy of that see should be begun by the institution of God; until that I read in that matter those things which the king's highness had written, in his most famous book against the heresies of Martin Luther.

'At the first reading whereof, I moved the king's highness, either to leave-out that point, or else to touch it more slenderly; for doubt of such things as after might hap to fall in question, between his highness and some pope, as between princes and popes divers times have done. Whereunto his highness answered me, *that he would in nowise anything minish of that matter;* of which thing, his highness shewed me a secret cause, whereof I never had anything heard before. But surely, after that I had read his grace's book thereon, and so many other things as I have seen on that point by this continuance of these seven years since and more, I have found in effect, the substance of all the holy doctors, from S^t^. Ignatius, disciple of S^t^. John the Evangelist, unto our own days, both Latins and Greeks,

so consonant and agreeing in that point, and the thing by such general councils so confirmed also, that in good faith I never neither read nor heard anything of such effect on the other side, which ever could lead me to think that my conscience were well discharged, but rather *in right great peril,* if I should follow the other side and deny the primacy to be provided by God.

'Which if we did, yet can I nothing, as I shewed you, perceive any commodity which ever could come by that denial; for that the primacy is at the leastwise instituted by the corps of christendom, and for a great, urgent cause, in avoiding of schisms; and corroborated by continual succession, more than the space of a thousand years at the least; for there are passed almost a thousand years since the time of holy S^t^. Gregory. And therefore, since all christendom is one corps, I cannot perceive how any member thereof may, without the common assent of the body, depart from the common head. And then, if we may not lawfully leave it by ourselves, I cannot perceive but, if the thing were a treating in a general council, what the question could avail, whether the primacy were instituted immediately by God or ordained by the church.

'As for the general councils assembled lawfully, I never could perceive but that, in the declaration of the truth, it is to be believed and to be standen-to. The authority whereof ought to be taken for undoubtable. Or else, were there in nothing no certainty but, through christendom, up-

on every man's affectionate reason, all things might be brought from day to day into continual ruffle and confusion. From which, by the general councils, the spirit of God, assisting every such council well assembled, keepeth, and ever shall keep, the corps of his catholic church. And verily, since the king's highness hath, as by the book of his honourable council appeareth, appealed to the general council from the pope (in which council I beseech our Lord send his grace comfortable speed!), methinketh in my poor mind, it could be no furtherance there unto his grace's cause, if his highness should in his own realm before, either by laws making or books putting-forth, seem to derogate and deny not only the primacy of the see apostolic, but also the authority of the general councils too. Which I verily trust his highness intendeth not; for, in the next general council, it may well happen, that this pope may be deposed, and another substituted in his room, with whom the king's highness may be very well content.

'For; albeit that I have for mine own part such opinion of the pope's primacy as I have shewed you, yet never thought I the pope above the general council; nor never have, in any book of mine, put-forth among the king's subjects in our vulgar tongue, advanced greatly the pope's authority. For, albeit that a man may peradventure find therein, that, after the common manner of all christian realms, I speak of him as primate; yet never do I stick thereon, with reasoning and proving of that point. And in my book against the Masker, I wrote not I wot-well five

times, and yet of no more but only S^t^. Peter himself; from whose person many take not the primacy, even of those who grant it none of his successors. And yet was that book made, printed, and put-forth of very truth, before that any of the books of the council were either printed or spoken-of. But, whereas I had written thereof at length in my Confutation before, and for the proof thereof had compiled together all that I could find therefore, at such time as I little looked that there should fall between the king's highness and the pope such a breach as is fallen since; when I after that saw the thing likely to draw toward such displeasure between them, I suppressed it utterly, and never put word thereof into my book, but put-out the remnant without it. Which thing well declareth, that I never intended anything to meddle in that matter against the king's gracious pleasure, whatsoever mine own opinion were therein.

'And thus have I, good Mr. Cromwell, long troubled your mistership with a long process of these matters; with which I neither durst, nor it could become me, to encumber the king's noble grace. But I beseech you, for our Lord's love, that you be not so weary of my most cumbrous suit, but that it may like you, at such opportune time or times as your wisdom may find, to help that his highness may, by your goodness, be fully informed of my true, faithful mind. That he may the rather, by the means of your wisdom and dexterity, consider, that in the matter of the nun, there was never on my part any other mind than

good. Nor yet in any other thing else, never was there nor never shall there be, any farther fault found in me, than that I cannot in every thing think the same way that some other men, of more wisdom and deeper learning, do; nor can find in mine heart otherwise to say, than as mine own conscience giveth me. Which condition hath never grown, in any thing which ever might touch his gracious pleasure, of any obstinate mind or mis-affectionate appetite, but of a timorous conscience; rising haply for lack of better perceiving, and yet not without tender respect unto my most bounden duty toward his noble grace. Whose only favour I so much esteem, that I nothing have of mine own in all this world, *except only my soul*, but that I will with better will forego it, than abide of his highness one heavy, displeasant look.'

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# CHAP. V.

*Henry VIII and Constantius.... More's firmness.... Anecdotes.... Mrs. Roper visiteth him.... His pains to meet his fate in a becoming manner.... His reflection on the execution of Reynolds, &c.... His verses on Cromwell's promise.... Lady More visiteth him, and some of the privy-council.... His two letters to his daughter.... His books taken from him.... Rich's conversation with More.... More arraigned.... The commissioners and jury.... More's answer to the indictment.... His answer to Rich.... The jury find him guilty.... His arguments as to the insufficiency of the indictment.... The chancellor's answer, and More's reply.... Sentence passed upon him.... Farther proceedings.... More's courage and constancy.... His meeting with his children.... Anecdote.... His last letter to his daughter.... Sir Thomas Pope sent to him.... More's preparation for death.... His last jokes, and execution.... His burial.*

THE later times of Henry VIII have been well enough compared to those of Constantius. Of this emperor Ammianus Marcellinus observes, he was cruel toward all who truly or falsely were charged with treason. Any accusation, how slight soever, served to ruin a man; and his subjects were so far from daring to tell their dreams, lest they

should have a treasonable interpretation put upon them, that *they dared not to own they ever slept.* If we except the history of Henry's own family, perhaps no stronger instance occurs in his reign of the justice of the comparison, than his sacrifice of Sir Thomas More.

Neither irritated by persecution, nor dismayed in the least degree by kingly power, in a mild though firm manner, the knight maintained his resolution; and the accustomed facetiousness of his disposition forsook him not even in his way to prison.

It was More's custom to wear a golden chain around his neck, and he now had it on as usual. His conductor to the Tower advised him to send this ornament home to his wife, or to some of his children. *Nay sir*, replied More, *that will I not; for if I were taken in the field by my enemies, I would they should somewhat fare the better for me.*

At the Tower-gate, the porter demanded of More his upper garment. The knight presented him his cap, and was very sorry it was no better. Wit was, however, not current with Cerberus, who soon disrobed the knight of his gown.

When More was conducted to his appartment by the lieutenant of the Tower, he called his servant John Wood, who was appointed to attend him, and who could neither read nor write, and brought him to his oath before the

lieutenant, that if he should witness that the knight spoke or wrote against the king, the council or the state, he should immediately declare it to the lieutenant, that it might be communicated without delay to the council.

The lieutenant, adds Mr. Roper, soon afterward acknowledged his former obligations to More, and his wish now to afford him *good cheer;* but since by so doing he should hazard the king's displeasure, he trusted More would accept his good will and such poor cheer as he dared to afford him. 'Mr. Lieutenant,' replied More, 'I verily believe, as you may, so are you my good friend indeed, and would, as you say, with your best cheer entertain me; for the which I most heartily thank you: And assure yourself Mr. Lieutenant, I do not mislike my cheer; but whensoever I so do, then *thrust me out of your doors.*'

Such indeed was More's mind, that his punishments, as they were called, only afforded him opportunities for the display of that superior patience and constancy, which the ordinary occurrences of life were hardly sufficient to appreciate.

When he had been in the Tower about a month, Mrs. Roper by earnest entreaty at length obtained permission to visit her father. After some time spent with her in prayer, according to his usual custom, 'I believe Meg (said More, among other things), that they who have put me here ween they have done me a high displeasure. But I assure thee

on my faith mine own good daughter, if it had not been for my wife and ye who be my children, I would not have failed long ere this, to have closed myself in as straight a room and straighter too. But, since I am come hither without mine own desert, I trust that God of his goodness will discharge me of my care, and with his gracious help supply my lack among ye. I find no cause, I thank God! Meg, to reckon myself in worse case here than at home. For methinketh, God maketh me a wanton, and setteth me on his lap and dandleth me.'*

In the course of his imprisonment, More seems never for a moment to have lost sight of the end which it was probable he should come to. He owns that he was of an irritable habit by nature, and weak against bodily suffering. Yet the whole force of his mind appears to have been exerted at this time, in preparation to meet his fate with constancy and composure. He withdrew himself by degrees from every worldly interest, and dwelt with daily increasing delight on his hope of a better state. Though few men have ever had more substantial ground for confidence in their own merits, he looked forward to the great judgment with trembling, but with every hope from his Maker's mercy and the merits of Christ. We shall find that the effects of his endeavours, even to human eyes, were wonderful; that no man ever overcame worldly suffering in the end more completely, or met so severe a fate with less dread of the stroke.

* Roper.

Looking out of his window in the Tower one day when Reynolds, a father of Sion, and three monks, were leading to execution, on the affair of the king's marriage and supremacy, 'Lo dost thou not see Meg,' he exclaimed to his daughter, 'that these blessed fathers be now as cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage. Wherefore thereby mayst thou see, mine own good daughter, what a great difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a straight, and penitential, and painful life religiously, and such as have in the world, like worldly wretches, as thy poor father hath done; consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously. For God, considering their long-continued life in most sore and grievous pennance, will no longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of misery, but speedily hence taketh them to the fruition of his everlasting deity. Whereas thy silly father, Meg, who like a wicked caitiff hath passed forth the whole course of his miserable life most sinfully, God, thinking him not worthy so soon to come to that eternal felicity, leaveth him here yet still in this world, farther to be plagued and turmoiled with misery.'*

Secretary Cromwell came to More one day in the Tower from the king, as Mr. Roper informs us, and pretending great friendship for the knight, told him that his majesty would be good and gracious to him, and not trouble his conscience in future with any matter wherein he should have cause for scruple. But More understood Henry and

* Roper.

his court too well, to fix the smallest reliance on such a promise; and to prove what little credit he attached to it, he wrote these verses so soon as Cromwell was gone, which are preserved in his English works.

Ey flattering Fortune, look thou ne'er so fair
Or ne'er so pleasantly begin to smile,
As though thou wouldst my ruin all repair;
During my life thou shalt me not beguile.
Trust shall I God, to enter in a while
His haven of heaven sure and uniform.
Ever, after thy calm, look I for a storm.

Lady More at length procured permission to visit her husband, and soon exclaimed in her usual worldly manner. 'I marvel that you, who hitherto have been taken for a wise man, will now so play the fool to lie here in this close filthy prison, and be content thus to be shut-up among mice and rats; when you might be abroad at your liberty, and with the favour and good-will both of the king and his council, if you would but do as all the bishops and best-learned of this realm have done. And seeing you have at Chelsea a right fair house, your library, your gallery, garden, orchard, and all other necessaries so handsome about you, where you might in the company of me your wife, your children and household be merry, I muse what a God's name you mean here still thus fondly to tarry.' More asked her if his present habitation was not as near heaven as his own house? And since, if he were buried seven years, and then rose and came to his own house, he should not fail

to find some therein who would bid him get out of doors and tell him *it was none of his*, why he should love a house which would so soon forget its master? *How long*, he added, *do you think we may live to enjoy it? Some twenty years*, she replied. *If you had said some thousand*, answered More, *it had been somewhat; and yet he were a very bad merchant who would put himself in danger to lose eternity for a thousand years. How much the rather, if we be not sure to enjoy it one day to an end!* *

It is possible that the good lady may have been an instrument employed by the court, to endeavour at prevailing on her husband to meet the wishes of the king. At least, no attempt appears to have been spared, toward the completion of an object which was evidently deemed of no small importance. For, not long after the meeting already described, the chancellor, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Cromwell, and others of the privy council, came to More at two distinct times, *by all pollicies possible procuring him*, saith Mr. Roper, either precisely to confess the supremacy, or precisely to deny it. At either of these times, More wrote confidentially to his daughter Margaret, describing to her what had passed, and the letters are preserved in his English works. As these letters give us the best account we have of the proceedings, they are here presented to the reader.

* Roper and More.

*Our Lord bless you my dearly beloved daughter!*

'I doubt not but, by the reason of the king's counsellors resorting hither in this time, in which (our Lord be their comfort!) these fathers of the Charterhouse and Mr. Reynolds of Sion be now judged to death for treason (whose matters and causes I know not), may hap to put you in trouble and fear of mind concerning me, being here prisoner; specially for that it is not unlikely that you have heard, that I was brought also before the council here myself. I have thought it necessary to advertise you of the very truth; to the end that, you should neither conceive more hope than the matter giveth, lest upon another turn it might agrieve your heaviness; nor more grief and fear than the matter giveth on the other side.

'Wherefore shortly you shall understand, that on Friday the last day of April in the afternoon, Mr. Lieutenant came in here unto me and shewed me, that Mr. Secretary would speak with me. Whereupon I shifted my gown, and went out with Mr. Lieutenant into the gallery to him; where I met many, some known and some unknown, in the way. And in conclusion, coming into the chamber where his mistership sat with Mr. Attorney, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Bedyll, and Mr. Dr. Tregonwell, I was offered to sit-down with them; which in nowise I would.

'Whereupon Mr. Secretary shewed unto me, that he

doubted not but that I had, by such friends as hither had resorted to me, seen the new statutes made at the last sitting of the parliament. Whereunto I answered *yea verily;* howbeit forasmuchas, being here, I have no conversation with any people, I thought it little need for me to bestow much time upon them; and therefore I re-delivered the book shortly, and the effect of the statutes I never marked, nor studied to put in remembrance. Then he asked me, whether I had not read the first statute of them, of the king being head of the church? whereunto I answered *yes.* Then his mistership declared unto me, that since it was now by act of parliament ordained, that his highness and his heirs be, and ever of right have been and perpetually should be, supreme head on earth of the church of England under Christ, the king's pleasure was, that those of his council there assembled, should demand mine opinion, and what my mind was therein.

'Whereunto I answered, that in good faith I had well trusted, that the king's highness would never have commanded any such question to be demanded of me, considering that I ever from the beginning well and truly, from time to time, declared my mind unto his highness; *and since that time,* I said, *unto your mistership, Mr. Secretary, also, both by mouth and by writing. And now I have in good faith discharged my mind of all such matters, and neither will dispute kings' titles nor popes'. But the king's true, faithful subject I am, and will be; and daily I pray for him and all his, and for you all who are of his honourable council,*

*and for all the realm. And otherwise than this I never intend to meddle.*

'Whereunto Mr. Secretary answered, that he thought this manner of answer should not satisfy nor content the king's highness; but that his grace would exact a more full answer. And his mistership added thereunto, that the king's highness was a prince, not of rigour, but of mercy and pity. And though that he had found obstinacy at some time in any of his subjects, yet when he should find them at another time conformable and submit themselves, his grace would shew mercy. And that, concerning myself, his highness would be glad to see me take such conformable ways, as I might be abroad in the world again among other men, as I have been before.

'Whereunto I shortly, after the inward affection of my mind, answered, for a very truth, *that I would never meddle in the world again to have the world given me.* And to the remnant of the matter I answered in effect as before; shewing that I had fully determined with myself, neither to study nor meddle with any matter of this world; but that my whole study should be, upon the passion of Christ and mine own passage out of this world.

'Upon this I was commanded to go forth for a while, and afterward called-in again. At which time Mr. Secretary said unto me, that though I were a prisoner condemned to perpetual prison, yet I was not thereby discharged

of mine obedience and allegiance unto the king's highness. And thereupon demanded me, whether that I thought, that the king's grace might not exact of me such things as are contained in the statutes, and upon like pains as he might upon other men? Whereto I answered, that I would not say the contrary. Whereunto he said, that likewise as the king's highness would be gracious to them whom he found conformable, so his grace would follow the course of his laws toward such as he shall find obstinate. And his mistership said farther, that my demeanour in that matter, was a thing which of likelihood made others so stiff therein as they be.

'Whereto I answered, that I gave no man occasion to hold any point, one or other; nor never gave any man advice or counsel therein, one way or other. And for conclusion, I could no farther go, whatsoever pain should come thereof. *I am*, quoth I, *the king's true faithful subject and daily bedesman; and pray for his highness and all his, and all the realm. I do nobody harm, I say none harm, I think none harm, but wish everybody good. And if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith I long not to live. And I am dying already, and have, since I came here, been divers times in the case, that I thought to die within one hour. And, I thank our Lord! I was never sorry for it; but rather sorry when I saw the pang past. And therefore, my poor body is at the king's pleasure; would God my death might do him good!*

'After this Mr. Secretary said, *well, you find no fault in that statute, find you any in any of the other statutes after?* Whereto I answered, *sir, whatsoever thing should seem to me other than good in any of the other statutes, or in that statute either, I would not declare what fault I found, nor speak thereof.* Whereunto finally his mistership said full gently, that of anything which I had spoken there should none advantage be taken. And whether he said farther that there was none to be taken, I am not well remembered; but he said, that report should be made unto the king's highness, and his gracious pleasure known.

'Whereupon I was delivered again to Mr. Lieutenant, who was then called-in; and so was I, by Mr. Lieutenant, brought again into my chamber. And here am I yet, in such case as I was, neither better nor worse. That that shall follow, lieth in the hand of God. Whom I beseech, to put in the king's grace's mind that thing which may be to his high pleasure; and in mine, to mind only the weal of my soul, with little regard of my body; and you, with all yours and my wife and all my children, and all our other friends both bodily and ghostly, heartily well to fare. And I pray you and them all, pray for me, and take no thought whatsoever shall happen me. For I verily trust in the goodness of God, seem it never so evil to this world, it shall indeed in another world be for the best.

Your loving father,

THOMAS MORE, KN^t.

'*Our Lord bless you and all yours!*

'Forasmuch, dearly beloved daughter, as it is likely, that you either have heard, or shortly shall hear, that the council were here this day and that I was before them, I have thought it necessary to send you word how the matter standeth. And verily, to be short, I perceive little difference between this time and the last. For, as far as I can see, the whole purpose is, either to drive me to say precisely the one way, or else precisely the other.

'Here sat my lord of Canterbury, my lord chancellor, my lord of Suffolk, my lord of Wiltshire, and Mr. Secretary. And after my coming, Mr. Secretary made rehearsal, in whatwise he had reported unto the king's highness what had been said by his grace's council to me, and what had been answered by me to them, at mine other being before them here last; which thing his mistership rehearsed, in good faith, very well, as I acknowledged, and confessed, and heartily thanked him therefore. Whereupon he added thereunto, that the king's highness was nothing content nor satisfied with mine answer; but thought, that by my demeanour I had been occasion of much grudge and harm in the realm, and that I had an obstinate mind and an evil toward him, and that my duty was, being his subject —— and so he had sent them now, in his name, upon mine allegiance, to command me —— to make a plain and a terminate answer, whether I thought the statute lawful or not;

and that I should either acknowledge and confess it lawful that his highness should be supreme head of the church of England, or else utter plainly my malignity.

'Whereto I answered, that I had no malignity, and therefore I could none utter. And as to the matter, I could none other answer make than I had before made; which answer his mistership had there rehearsed. Very heavy I was, that the king's highness should have any such opinion of me. Howbeit if there were one who had informed his highness many evil things of me which were untrue,—to which his highness for the time gave credence,—I would be very sorry that he should have that opinion of me the space of one day; howbeit if I were sure, that other should come on the morrow by whom his grace should know the truth of mine innocency, I should in the meanwhile comfort myself with consideration of that. And in likewise now, though it be great heaviness to me that his highness hath such opinion of me for the while, yet have I no remedy to help it; but only to comfort myself with this consideration, that I know very well that the time shall come, when God shall declare my truth toward his grace before him and all the world. And whereas it might haply seem to be but small cause of comfort, because I might take harm here first in the meanwhile, I thanked God that my case was such here in this matter, through the clearness of mine own conscience, that though I might have pain, I could not have harm; for a man may in such a case lose his head, and have none harm. For I was very sure that I had no cor-

rupt affection, but that I had alway from the beginning truly used myself, looking first upon God and next upon the king; according to the lesson which his highness taught me at my first coming to his noble service, the most virtuous lesson which ever prince taught his servant. Whose highness to have of me now such opinion, is my great heaviness; but I have no mean, as I said, to help it. But only comfort myself in the meantime with the hope of the joyful day, in which my truth toward him shall well be known. And in this matter farther I could not go, nor other answer thereto I could not make.

'To this it was said, by my lord chancellor and Mr. Secretary both, that the king might by his laws compel me to make a plain answer thereto, either the one way or the other. Whereto I answered, that I would not dispute the king's authority what his highness might do in such a case; but I said, that verily, under correction, it seemed to me somewhat hard. For if it so were that my conscience gave me against the statute (wherein how my conscience giveth me I make no declaration), then I nothing doing nor nothing saying against the statute, it were a very hard thing to compel me to say, either precisely with it against my conscience to the loss of my soul, or precisely against it to the destruction of my body.

'To this Mr. Secretary said, that I had ere this, when I was chancellor, examined heretics and thieves, and other malefactors; and gave me a great praise above my deserv-

ing in that behalf. And he said that I then, as he thought, and at the leastwise bishops, did use to examine heretics whether they believed the pope to be head of the church, and used to compel them to make a precise answer thereto. And why should not then the king, since it is a law made here that his grace is head of the church here, compel men to answer precisely to the law here, as they did then concerning the pope?

'I answered, and said that I protested that I intended not to defend my part or stand in contention; but, I said there was a difference between those two cases. Because that at that time, as well here as elsewhere through the corps of christendom, the pope's power was recognised for an undoubted thing; which seemeth not like a thing agreed in this realm, and the contrary taken for truth in other realms.

'Whereto Mr. Secretary answered, that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as they be beheaded for the denying of this; and therefore as good reason to compel them to make precise answer to the one as to the other. Whereto I answered, that since in this case a man is not by a law of one realm so bound in his conscience, where there is a law of the whole corps of christendom to the contrary, in a matter touching belief, as he is by a law of the whole corps, though there hap to be made in some place a law *local* to the contrary,—the reasonableness or the unreasonableness in binding a man to precise answer,

standeth not in the respect or difference between heading and burning; but, because of the difference in charge of conscience, the difference standeth between heading and hell.

'Much was there answered unto this, both by Mr. Secretary and my lord chancellor,—overlong to rehearse. And in conclusion, they offered me an oath, by which I should be sworn to make true answer to such things as should be asked me, on the king's behalf concerning the king's own person. Whereto I answered, that verily I never purposed to swear any book-oath more, while I lived. Then they said, that I was very obstinate if I would refuse that; for every man doth it in the star-chamber, and everywhere. I said, that was true. But I had not so little foresight, but that I might well conjecture what should be part of mine interrogatories; and as good it was to refuse them at the first, as afterward.

'Whereto my lord chancellor answered, that he thought I guessed truth,—for I should see them. And so they were shewn me; and they were but twain,—the first, whether I had seen the statute; the other, whether I believed that it were a lawful-made statute or not. Whereupon I refused the oath; and said farther by mouth, that the first I had before confessed, and to the second I would make none answer. Which was the end of our communication, and I was thereupon sent away.

'In the communication before, it was said, that it was marvelled, that I stack so much in my conscience while at the uttermost I was not *sure* therein. Whereto I said, that I was very sure that mine own conscience, so informed as it is by such diligence as I have so long taken therein, may stand with mine own salvation. I meddle not with the conscience of them who think otherwise; every man *suo domino stat aut cadit*, I am no man's judge.

'It was also said unto me, that if I had as lief be out of the world as in it, as I had there said, why did I not then speak even plain out against the statute? It appeared well I was not content to die, though I said so. Whereto I answered, as the truth is, that I have not been a man of such holy living, as I might be bold to offer myself to death, lest God for my presumption might suffer me to fall; and therefore I put not myself forward, but draw back. Howbeit if God draw me to it himself, then trust I in his great mercy, that he shall not fail to give me grace and strength.

'In conclusion, Mr. Secretary said, that he liked me this day much worse than he did the last time. For then, he said, he pitied me much; and now, he thought, I meant not well. But God and I know both, that I mean well; and so I pray God do by me! I pray you, be you and mine other good friends of good cheer, whatsoever fall of me; and take no thought for me, but pray for me, as I do and shall for you and all them.

Your tender, loving father,

THOMAS MORE, KN^t.

It was soon after this that Rich, then newly made the king's solicitor, Sir Richard Southwell, and one Palmer, servant to Cromwell, were sent to More to take his books from him.* The knight had sometime previously, saith his great-grandson, begun a *divine treatise* of the passion of Christ; but when he came to expound the words *they laid hands upon him and held him*, these gentlemen took from him all his books, ink, and paper. More hereupon devoted himself wholly to meditation, and closed his chamber windows. And when the lieutenant of the Tower inquired of him his reason for so doing, More answered, *when all the wares are gone the shop-windows may be shut.* He still, however, contrived to procure scraps of paper, on which he now wrote with a coal; and one of these scraps, *a precious jewel*, as he calls it, his great-grandson inherited.

It hath been supposed by some, that Rich was sent on this occasion with a view to entangle More if possible in a dispute; and if nothing could fairly be deduced from their conversation to the knight's prejudice, that the solicitor was at any rate to have accused More falsely. But a design of this kind, although it be by no means inconsistent with the character of Henry's court, must now rest upon our conjectures only, and cannot be expected at this distant day to admit of fresh proof.

Certain it is, that while Southwell and Palmer were packing the books, Rich, pretending familiar conversation with

* Roper.

More, said to him, since he was learned in the law and otherwise, might he put the question to him, *if there was an act of parliament that the realm should take me for king, would not you take me for king?*

*Yes sir*, replied More, *that would I.*

*I put the case farther*, said Rich. *Were there an act of parliament that all the realm should take me for pope, would not you then take me for pope?*

More replied, the parliament might well meddle with the state of temporal princes, but to answer the other case, he would put this case. *Suppose the parliament would make a law that God should not be God, would you then Mr. Rich say that God were not God?*

*No sir*, replied Rich, *that would I not; since no parliament may make any such law.*

Here, according to Mr. Roper, the conversation ended. But Rich when called upon at More's trial falsely reported, that the knight rejoined to this answer, *no more could the parliament make the king supreme head of the church.*

When More was arraigned at the King's-bench bar, he had been for above a year in prison. His bodily strength had been materially impaired, having experienced returns of the complaint in his breast, and new attacks of the

gravel and stone.* Weak and emaciated, he leaned on a crutch when he went to this trial, yet his countenance was firm and cheerful. He was tried, probably by special commission, before

Chancellor Audley,
Chief-justice Fitzjames,
Sir John Baldwin,
Sir Richard Leister,
Sir John Port,
Sir John Spilman,
Sir Walter Luke,
Sir Anthony Fitzherbert.

His jury, for their names too deserve to be recorded to their infamy, were

Sir Thomas Palmer,
Sir Thomas Peirt,
George Lovell, } Esqrs.
Thomas Burbage, }
Geoffrey Chamber, }
Edward Stockmore, }
William Browne, }
Jasper Leake, } Gentlemen.
Thomas Billington, }
John Parnel, }
Richard Bellame, }
George Stoakes.† }

The indictment was so long, that More declared he could

* Eng. works, p. 1434. † More.

scarcely remember a third part of what was objected against him.* His chief crime was, his refusal of the oath as we have already seen; which was termed *malicious, traitorous, and diabolical.* His two examinations in the Tower, with the declarations he then made, were adduced in proof of the charge. And it was alleged, that he had written letters to bishop Fisher, to bias that prelate likewise; for his answers resembled those made by More. Upon the whole, it was concluded, that the knight was a traitor to his prince and to the realm, for denying the king's supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical government.

The reader who hath marked the character of Henry's reign, will already have anticipated the result of this trial. For he needeth not to be told, that this prince made his will a rule for judges and even juries; that he sported with law and common-sense on all occasions; that his parliaments followed his caprices with servility; and that they as well as himself were lost to all sense of shame. The fate of Sir Thomas More is a striking, among many other lamentable exemplifications of these horrid truths.

After the indictment had been read to him, the duke of Norfolk said to More, *you see now how grievously you have offended his majesty. Yet he is so merciful, that if you will lay aside your obstinacy and change your opinion, we hope you may obtain pardon of his highness.*

* Pole.

To this, continues the great-grandson, the *stout champion of Christ* replied, *most noble lords, I have great cause to thank your honours for this your courtesy. But I beseech Almighty God, that I may continue in the mind I am in, through his grace, unto death.*

For the former part of More's defence we are indebted to Stapleton, from whose Latin we will translate the knight's words.

'When I recollect the length of my accusation, and the weight of what is objected against me, I am apprehensive that my understanding, my memory, and my power of utterance, may fail me in making due answer to the whole; so am I still affected by the bodily weakness which I have suffered from my imprisonment.'

Here a seat was ordered to be brought the knight. Having seated himself, he thus proceeded.

'There be four divisions, if I mistake not, of my indictment; which I will answer in order.

'To the FIRST, that I was averse to his majesty's second marriage, I candidly own, I ever disapproved this marriage to the king. Nor am I now inclined to say or think otherwise of it than I have done, for the dictate of my conscience is still the same. This dictate I was neither inclined of my own accord to conceal from his majesty, nor ought

I to have done so when the truth was demanded of me; and no suspicion of treason can on this occasion attach itself to me. On the contrary, being asked a question of such moment by my prince, on which his honour and the tranquility of his kingdom depended, had I spoken with more regard to compliance with his wishes than to truth, I should then with justice have been accused of what I am now accused, of malevolence, wickedness, treachery.

But even for this fault of mine, if it be a fault in man to speak the truth to his prince when he asks it, I have already suffered severe punishment. I have been proscribed from all intercourse with mankind, and continually immured in prison for nearly fifteen months.

'A SECOND head of my indictment is, that I am amenable to punishment for the violation of an act of parliament. For, when in prison, of my malevolence, wickedness, treachery, I sought to detract from the honour due to his majesty as recognised by that act in his new title, *supreme head on earth of the church of England.*

'What opinion did I utter regarding this act, when twice questioned in prison by Mr. Secretary and others of his majesty's council, that I should be said to have detracted from, or to have denied, this new authority? I would give no other answer than, that the act, just or unjust, pertained not to me, who was dead in law, and was no longer bound to answer to statutes which I should never more use;

yet that neither by word or deed had I ever done anything derogatory to the act, and therefore I could not with justice be condemned for a law against which it could not be objected to me that I had either acted or spoken; that, rejecting every other care, I wished to turn my thoughts for the time to come to the bitter passion of my Saviour, and to my own passage from this life.

'I own I made this answer. But I maintain that this law or act was by no means violated by such answer, nor any capital offence committed by it. Neither your laws, nor those of the whole world, can criminate mere silence. They are made for words and actions; God alone can judge of secret thoughts.'

Here the king's counsel remarked, that More's silence was a sure sign of his evil disposition and a certain proof of his malice; for no man in the kingdom well-affected toward his majesty, being interrogated as to this act, would refuse to declare his opinion categorically.

'My silence,' replied More, 'is neither a sign of any evil disposition in me, as his majesty may know by many proofs, neither doth it bear any conviction of a breach of your law. It is to be taken for assent rather than dissent, witness the lawyers' phrase, *who is silent seemeth to consent.* As to your inference respecting the duty of a good subject from the example of all England, I am of opinion, that it is the duty of such a one, unless he would be a bad chris-

tian at the same time that he is a good subject, to obey God rather than man; to have more care of his conscience and the preservation of his soul, than of any other thing whatever. Especially when, which is certainly my case, his conscience is such, as to produce not the smallest offence, no scandal, no sedition to his prince. For I solemnly affirm, that I never opened this conscience of mine to any mortal living.'

'I come now to the THIRD head of my indictment. By which I am accused, against the constitution of my my country, to have violated an act of parliament; having maliciously endeavoured, wickedly contrived, and treacherously practised, so saith the indictment, to interchange eight letters in prison with the bishop of Rochester, wherein I persuaded him against this law and incited him to oppose it.

'I earnestly desire that these letters may be produced and read, for they will either condemn or acquit me. But since you say that the bishop burnt them, I will not hesitate to repeat to you what they contained. Some of them were full of our private affairs and related to our old and intimate friendship. One contained my answer to his letter of inquiry, what reply I had made in prison to the king's counsellors on this new subject. To this I made no other answer, than that I had made-up my own mind, and he might make-up his. So God love me and preserve my soul as I wrote him nothing else, and as God is my witness

this and nothing else is the truth! Thus is there nothing in this instance neither which I have committed, contrary to law and worthy of death.

'The FOURTH and last allegation against me is, that when I was examined concerning this law in prison, I said, it was like a two-edged sword; who opposed it destroyed his body, who consented to it, confounded his soul. From which kind of answer, because the bishop of Rochester likewise made it, it was asserted that we had evidently conspired in the matter.

'I answer that this expression was more qualified on my part. Namely, that I said, in either case there was danger, whether I approved or disapproved the law, and therefore it was like a two-edged sword, which wielded cutteth both ways; and the condition seemed peculiarly severe in extending to myself, who contradicted it neither by word nor deed. These were *my* words; how the bishop answered I know not. If his reasoning agreed with mine, it hath arisen from no collusion, but rather from our similar thoughts and studies. In short, ye may rest satisfied, that I have never spoken to any mortal living against this constitution, although perhaps some false reports may have been made on the subject to the king's most merciful majesty.'

Though no farther answer was now made to More, the word *malice*, saith his great-grandson, was in the mouth of the whole court. And as a final proof of the knight's guilt,

Rich was now called, to relate upon oath the conversation which we have already noticed. Mr. Roper hath preserved the answer of More upon this occasion in his very words, as reported to him by credible eye witnesses.

'If I was a man my lords,' said the knight, 'who did not regard an oath, I needed not, as it is well known, stand in this place, and at this time, nor in this case, as an accused person. And if this oath of yours Mr. Rich be true, then I pray *that I never see God in the face*, which I would not say were it otherwise, to win the whole world.'

Here More gave the court the true account of his conversation with Rich in the Tower; and then he proceeded thus.

'In good faith, Mr. Rich, I am sorrier for your perjury, than for mine own peril. And you shall understand, that neither I, nor no man else to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of such credit, as, in any matter of importance, I, or any other, would at any time vouchsafe to communicate with you. And I, as you know, of no small while have been acquainted with you and your conversation, who have known you from your youth hitherto, for we long dwelt together in one parish. Where, as yourself can tell (I am sorry you compel me so to say) you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame. And so, in your house at the

Temple, where hath been your chief bringing-up, were you likewise accounted.

'Can it therefore seem likely to your honourable lordships, that I would in so weighty a cause so unadvisedly overshoot myself, as to trust Mr. Rich, a man of me alway reputed of little truth as your lordships have heard, so far above my sovereign lord the king or any of his noble counsellors, that I would unto him utter the secrets of my conscience touching the king's supremacy, the special point and only mark at my hands so long sought-for, a thing which I never did nor never would, after the statute thereof made, reveal unto the king's highness himself, or to any of his honourable counsellors, as it is not unknown unto your honours, at sundry several times sent from his own person to the Tower to me, for none other purpose? Can this, in your judgment my lords, seem likely to be true?

'And yet, if I had so done indeed, my lords, as Mr. Rich hath sworn, seeing it was spoken but in secret familiar talk, nothing affirming, and only in putting of cases, without other displeasant circumstances, it cannot justly be taken to be spoken *maliciously*.' And where there is no malice, there can be no offence. And over this, I can never think my lords, that so many worthy bishops, so many honourable personages, and so many other worshipful, virtuous, wise, and learned men, as at the making of that law were in that parliament assembled, ever meant to have any man punished by death in whom there could be

found no malice; taking *malitia* for *malevolentia*. For if *malitia* be generally taken for *sin*, no man is there then who can excuse himself; *quia si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosmet ipsos seducemus et veritas in nobis non est*. And moreover this word *maliciously* is in this statute material; as the term *forcible* is in the statute of *forcible entresse*. By which statute, if a man enter peaceably and put not his adversaries out *forcibly*, it is no offence; but if he put them out *forcibly*, then by the statute it is an offence, and so shall he be punished by this term *forcibly*.

"Beside this, the manifold goodness of the king's highness himself,—who hath been so many ways my singular good lord, and who hath so dearly loved and trusted me; even at my very first coming into his honourable service, to the dignity of his honourable privy council vouchsafing to admit me, and to offices of great credit and worship most liberally advancing me; and finally, with the weighty room of his grace's high chancellor (the like whereof he never did to temporal man before), next to his own royal person the highest officer in this noble realm, so far above my qualities or merits able and meet therefore, of his own incomparable benignity honouring and exalting me; by the space of twenty years and more shewing his continual favour toward me; and (until at mine own poor suit it pleased his highness, giving me licence with his majesty's favour to bestow the residue of my life for the provision of my soul in the service of God, of his special goodness to discharge and disburthen me), most benignly heaping ho-

nours continually more and more upon me,——all this his highness' goodness I say, so long thus continually extended toward me, were in my mind, my lords, matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmise, by this man so wrongfully imagined against me.'

Rich now desired that his companions, Southwell and Palmer, should be examined relative to his conversation with More. When they had been sworn they either of them deposed, that being employed in conveying away the knight's books as they had been ordered, they paid no attention to the conversation which was passing.

The jury, however, speedily found More GUILTY; and the chancellor, More's immediate successor, was proceeding, as chief commissioner, with no less hasty servility to pronounce judgment upon him, when the knight observed, that in his time it was customary in such a case, to ask the prisoner before judgment, what he could say why judgment should not be given against him. The chancellor hereupon demanded of More what he was able to say in this instance to the contrary? and More, according to Mr. Roper, thus replied to him.

'Forasmuch, my lords, as this indictment is grounded upon an act of parliament directly repugnant to the laws of God and his holy church,—the supreme government whereof, or any part thereof, may no temporal prince presume by any law to take upon him, as rightfully belonging

to the see of Rome, a spiritual pre-eminence, by the mouth of our Saviour himself, personally present upon the earth, only to S^t^. Peter and his successors, bishops of the same see, by special prerogative granted —— it is therefore, in law, among christian men, insufficient to charge any christian man.'

The knight added, that as the city of London could not make a law against an act of parliament which bound the whole realm, neither could this realm make a particular law incompatible with the general law of Christ's universal catholic church; that it was contrary to the unrepealed statutes of the country, for, by Magna Charta, *ecclesia Anglicana, libra sit, et habeat omnia sua jura integra et illæsa;* that it was contrary also to the oath taken by Henry and every other christian prince at his coronation; that no more might England refuse obedience to the see of Rome, than a child to its natural father —— 'for, as S^t^. Paul said to the Corinthians, *I have regenerated ye my children in Christ*, so might S^t^. Gregory, pope of Rome (since by S^t^. Augustin, his messenger, we first received the christian faith), of us Englishmen truly say, *ye are my children, because I have, under Christ, given to ye everlasting salvation, a far higher and better inheritance than any carnal father can leave to his children, and by regeneration have made ye spiritual children in Christ.*'

The chancellor here repeated the old remark, that since the bishops, universities, and best learned had subscribed

to the act, it was wonderful that he alone would oppose them all and argue so strongly against it.

'If the number of bishops and universities be so material,' replied More, 'as your lordship seemeth to take it, then see I little cause, my lord, why that thing in my conscience should make any change. For I nothing doubt, but that, though not in this realm, yet in christendom about, of those well-learned bishops and virtuous men who be yet alive, they be not the fourth part who be of your opinion therein. But if I should speak of those who be dead, of whom many be now holy saints in heaven, I am very sure it is the far greater part of them, who, all the while they lived thought in this case that way which I now think. And therefore am I not bound, my lord, to conform my conscience to the counsel of our realm, against the general counsel of christendom.'

The chancellor at length asked the opinion of the chief-justice, if the indictment were sufficient. Fitz-james replied with his usual oath, *my lords all, by St. Julian, I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be not unlawful, then is the indictment in my conscience good.* An answer upon which More's great-grandson remarketh, that it resembled that of the Scribes and Pharisees to Pilate; *if this man were not a malefactor, we would never have delivered him unto you.*

The chancellor now proceeded to pronounce the usual

sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering; for which Henry VIII hath been pronounced by Paulus Jovius, a second Phalaris. In consideration, however, of the high offices which More had filled, this sentence was afterward mitigated to *beheading*; a subject which still afforded the undismayed knight an opportunity of jesting. *God forbid*, he said, *that the king should use any more such mercy unto any of my friends, and God bless all my posterity from such pardons.**

If we may credit Stapleton, More said after his judgment was passed, that since he stood condemned, how justly God knew, to disburthen his conscience he would now freely speak what he thought of the late proceedings. When he perceived that the state of this kingdom required the investigation whence the power of the Roman pontiff was derived, he directed his attention and study for seven whole years to the subject. But to this day could he never discover in any learned writer approved by the church, that a layman ever had been, or ever could be, head of the church.

The chancellor is said here again to have remarked, that the knight arrogated to himself more wisdom and integrity than the whole realm beside; and More again to have replied, that against one bishop he could name him an hundred, and against one realm the consent of all christendom for more than a thousand years. *Now Sir Thomas*, exclaim-

* More.

ed the duke of Norfolk, *you shew your malice;* to which More answered, that he only discharged his conscience.*

The commissioners now offered More a favourable hearing, if he had anything farther to offer in his defence.

'More have I not to say my lords,' replied the knight, 'but that, like as the blessed apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, was present and consented to the death of St. Stephen, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death,—and yet be they now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends together for ever —— so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your lordships have now here on earth been judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter in heaven all meet together, to everlasting salvation.†

Thus did the knight receive the sentence of condemnation with that equal temper of mind which he had discovered in either condition of life; and he now devoted himself wholly to prepare for death, which we shall find proved little terrible to him.

Sir William Kingston, a tall, strong, and comely knight (as Mr. Roper calls him), and More's very dear friend, attended the knight, as constable of the Tower, on his return thither. At the Old Swan, with a heavy heart, tears running down his cheeks, he wished More farewell.

* More. † Roper.

'Sir Thomas More,' continues Mr. Roper, 'seeing him so sorrowful, comforted him with as good words as he could, saying, *good Mr. Kingston, trouble not yourself, but be of good cheer. For I will pray for you and my good lady your wife, that we may meet in heaven together, where we shall be merry for ever and ever.* Soon afterward, Sir William Kingston, talking with me of Sir Thomas More, said, *in good faith Mr. Roper I was ashamed of myself, that, at my departing from your father, I found my heart so feeble, and his so strong, that he was fain to comfort me, who should rather have comforted him.*'

A scene yet more tender occurred before the knight reached the Tower, and which appeareth not unworthy of the artist's pencil. His affectionate daughter Margaret, fearing that this would be her last opportunity of seeing her dear father in this world, awaited his coming, at the Tower-wharf, and on his approach, pressed forward to him with an ardour nearly frantic, which neither the crowd nor his guards could restrain. Having reached him, she clung round his neck and kissed him, with the utmost ardour of filial affection. More seemed pleased with her manner, and blessed and comforted her. After she had gone from him, she was again seized with the same enthusiasm, and returned once more to re-act the same tender scene, amid the tears of many of the spectators. The knight's son, it appears, also presented himself to his father and asked his blessing.*

* Roper and More.

Between More's condemnation and the execution of his sentence, about a week intervened; which he passed in prayer, and in such discipline as his persuasion induced him to believe would tend to his acceptance with his Maker.* Yet his usual facetiousness in worldly affairs forsook him not even at this awful crisis.

A *light-headed courtier*, as More's great-grandson calls him, having come to the knight, not to talk *of serious matters* but to urge him *to change his mind*, Sir Thomas, wearied by his impertinence and importunity, at last replied *I have changed it*. The report of this soon reached the king, and More was commanded to explain himself. The knight now rebuked the courtier for troubling his majesty with what he spoke in jest; his meaning he said was, that whereas he purposed to have been shaved, that he might appear as usual at his execution, he had now *changed his mind*, and his beard should share the fate of his head.

Two of More's last letters, written with a coal, are preserved in the volume of his English works. The former is in Latin, to Mr. Anthony Bonvyse, a rich merchant, who appears to have been an old and constant friend of the knight, and of whose kindness this is his last grateful acknowledgment; adding after his signature Thomas Morus, *frustra fecero si adjiciam TUUS, nam hoc jam nescire non potes quum tot beneficiis emeris, nec ego nunc talis sum ut referat cujus sim.* The latter, to his daughter Margaret, was writ-

* See More.

1535. ten on July 5th 1535, the very day before his execution, and is here presented to the reader.

*Sir Thomas More to Mrs. Roper.*

'Our Lord bless you good daughter, and your good husband, and your little boy, and all yours; and all my children, and all my god-children and all our friends.

'Recommend me when you may to my good daughter Cicily, whom I beseech our Lord to comfort! and I send her my blessing, and to all her children, and pray her to pray for me. I send her an handkerchief; and God comfort my good son her husband!

'My good daughter Daunce hath the picture in parchment which you delivered me from my Lady Coniers; her name is on the back side. Shew her that I heartily pray her, that you may send it in my name to her again, for a token from me to pray for me.

'I like special well Dorothy Coly. I pray you be good unto her! I would wit whether this be she whom you wrote me of? If not, yet I pray you be good to the other, as you may in her affliction, and to my god-daughter Joan Aleyn too. Give her, I pray you, some kind answer; for she sued hither to me this day, to pray you be good to her.

I cumber you, good Margaret, much; but I would be

'sorry if it should be any longer than to-morrow. For it is S^t. Thomas even, and the Utas of S^t. Peter; and therefore to-morrow long I to go to God,—it were a day very meet and convenient for me. I never liked your manner toward me better than when you kissed me last; for I love when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy. Farewell my dear child and pray for me; and I shall for you and all your friends, that we may merrily meet in heaven. I thank you for your great cost.

'I send now to my god-daughter Clement her algorism stone; and I send her, and my god-son, and all hers, God's blessing and mine. I pray you, at time convenient, recommend me to my goodson, John More. I liked well his natural fashion. Our Lord bless him and his good wife my loving daughter! to whom I pray him be good, as he hath great cause; and that if the land of mine come to his hand, he break not my will concerning his sister Daunce. And our Lord bless Thomas and Austin* and all that they shall have.'

* * * * * * * * * *

For the reasons which he gives in this letter, it was probably at More's particular request, that the following day was that fixed upon for his execution. Early in the morning of Tuesday July 6^th 1535, his friend Sir Thomas Pope came to him with a message from the king and council,

* John More's children.

that he should suffer death on that morning before nine of the clock, and that he might prepare himself accordingly.

'Mr. Pope,' said Sir Thomas, 'for your good tidings I heartily thank you. I have been alway much bounden to the king's highness for the benefits and honours which he hath still, from time to time, most bountifully heaped upon me. And yet more bounden am I to his grace, for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end. And, so God help me! most of all, Mr. Pope, am I bounden to his highness, that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me from the miseries of this wretched world. And therefore will I not fail, earnestly to pray for his grace, both here and also in the world to come.'

'The king's pleasure is farther,' added Pope, 'that at your execution you shall not use many words.'

'Mr. Pope,' replied More, 'you do well to give me warning of his grace's pleasure; for otherwise, at that time, had I purposed somewhat to have spoken, but of no matter wherewith his grace, or any, should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless, whatsoever I intended, I am ready obediently to conform myself to his grace's commandment; and I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a mean to his highness, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial.'

'The king is content already,' said Pope, that your wife

and children, and other your friends, shall have liberty to be present thereat.'

'O! how much beholden then,' said More, 'am I unto his grace, who unto my poor burial vouchsafeth to have so gracious consideration.'

It was not without reason that Henry's command, *he should not use many words*, accompanied the message of death. He was not ignorant of More's ability as a public speaker, and how great his authority was among the people. He was sensible too of the provocation which he had given his prisoner; and, judging the knight's temper by his own, he feared that he should be treated with the most vindictive and offensive freedom. But the subject on this occasion proved too good for his prince; and the circumstance only serves to add to our contempt of Henry's conduct.

Pope now took leave of More, and could not refrain from tears.

'Quiet yourself good Mr. Pope,' said More, 'and be not discomforted; for I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss eternally.'

More now put-on his best clothes: which, when the lieutenant of the Tower saw, he advised him to take them

* Roper.

off again, saying he was but a rascal who should have them.

'What, Mr. Lieutenant,' said the knight, 'shall I account him a rascal who shall do me this day so singular a benefit? Nay, I assure you, were it cloth of gold I should think it well bestowed on him, as St. Cyprian did, who gave his executioner thirty pieces of gold.'

The lieutenant, however, persuaded him to re-change his dress. Yet, of the little money which was left to him, the knight sent his executioner an angel.*

At the appointed time, he was conducted from his prison by the lieutenant of the Tower to the place of execution; *his beard being long*, says his great-grandson, *his face pale and lean, carrying in his hands a red cross, casting his eyes often toward heaven.* Yet his facetiousness remained to the last, of which three instances are related to have passed, even upon the scaffold. On ascending this structure, he found it so weak that it was ready to fall; upon which he said to the lieutenant, *I pray see me up safe, and for my coming down let me shift for myself.* As Henry had so prudently imposed silence upon him at this time, More only desired of his spectators that they would pray for him, and bear witness that he there suffered death in and for the faith of the catholic church.†

* Roper. † Roper.

This said, he knelt, and repeated a psalm with great devotion; perhaps the 51st, the 56th, or the 57th. He then rose cheerfully, and the executioner asking his forgiveness, More kissed him and said, *thou wilt do me this day a greater benefit, than ever any mortal man can be able to give me. Pluck-up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thy office. My neck is very short; take heed therefore that thou strike not awry, for saving thy honesty.* When he laid his head upon the block, he desired the executioner to wait till he had removed his beard, *for that had never committed treason.* 'So with great alacrity and spiritual joy,' adds his great-grandson, 'he received the fatal blow of the axe; which no sooner had severed the head from the body, but his soul was carried by angels into everlasting glory, where a crown of martyrdom was put upon him which can never fade nor decay.'

More's behaviour in this last scene hath been censured by some as light and indecent, and partaking more of the stoic than of the christian. The more candid, however, have allowed that that manner having been so natural to him on all occasions, it was not peculiar upon this; but proved that death by no means discomposed him, and could not even put him out of his ordinary humour.

His head remained for some time fixed upon a pole on London-bridge, until the piety of his daughter Margaret found an opportunity of purchasing it. She is said to have preserved it in a leaden box, and to have ordered its inter-

ment with her own body in the Roper-vault, under a chapel adjoining St. Dunstan's, Canterbury.* His body was buried in the chapel of St. Peter in the Tower, probably near bishop Fisher, who, like More, had appointed himself a tomb in his lifetime, which his body never occupied. Some of our antiquaries have asserted that More's body was afterward removed to Chelsea by his daughter Margaret; but this is by no means satisfactorily made out, and appears to be improbable for more reasons than one.

# CHAP. VI.

*Anecdote.... Queen Ann and Cranmer indolent in More's cause.... Effects of More's execution.... Sentiments of the Emperor Charles, Cardinal Pole, and Paulus Jovius.... More's religion, bigotry, &c. .... Not so extravagant as some, in his notions of the papal power. .... His propensity to jesting, and witty sayings.... His behaviour at his death natural.... His disinterestedness, and integrity while chancellor, and virtue as a patriot minister.... Queen Catharine's opinion of More.... His greatness of mind, excellent temper, and good management of his family.... Other traits of his character. .... His learning, modesty, and benevolence.... His Utopia, History of Richard III, epigrams, letters, and controversial writings.... Burnet's character of him as a writer.... The editions of More's English and Latin works.... His personal peculiarities.... His family.... Erasmus' encomium on More's house.... Mrs. Roper.... Her letter to her father in prison.... Her daughter Basset.... More's letter to Gonellus.... The death of Erasmus and view of his character.... More's remonstrances with him misrepresented.*

It is said that when Henry received the report of More's execution he was playing at draughts, and Queen Ann was looking-on. Casting his eyes upon her, he said *thou art the*

*cause of this man's death;* and soon afterward he left the game. He betook himself, it is added, to his chamber, and fell into a fit of melancholy.*

Whatever credit may be due to this anecdote, those writers who assert that Ann was instrumental to More's execution, have probably been guided by it. Yet she was perhaps rather an approver of the execution than an instigator to it; for it is certain that the temper of her consort, irritable and impetuous as it was, seldom stood in need of instigation to lead it to extremities.

After having opposed the divorce and second marriage, More became an opponent of what was then termed heresy; of which Ann was a patron. If then only to remove an enemy to herself and her cause, we have no reason to doubt that the queen's voice was in favour of the execution. Nay, if she found the king at any time wavering in his resolution, she may have endeavoured to confirm him in it, and thus have given ground to Henry, in the first moments of his uneasiness, to charge her with having caused the knight's death.

Cranmer, as well as Ann, had, we know, very considerable influence on Henry's purposes; and had they now exerted all this influence, they might perhaps have saved More's life. But it is pretty clear that the queen never made such an attempt, or Henry could not have reproach-

* More.

ed her in this manner; and it is too probable that neither her majesty nor the bishop used *every* endeavour in their power to prevent an execution, which fixes an indelible odium upon all the reformers who consented to it.

We have at least very ample testimonies remaining to us, that the sacrifice of More made an impression, far beyond the limits of his own country, and of deeper stamp than it hath often been in the power of an individual to leave, who, like More, hath been conspicuous chiefly by his virtues in civil life. Many learned of christendom, protestants as well as catholics, who neither feared Henry as their tyrant, nor hated him from private motives of animosity, have animadverted strongly on the cruelty of the knight's execution.

Upon his friend Dr. Lark, at that time rector of Chelsea, More's death is said to have had so much influence, that he soon afterward suffered death also, for denying the king's supremacy.*

Mr. Roper relates, that when the emperor Charles received intelligence of More's execution, he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, the English ambassador at his court, and said to him, *we understand that the king your master hath put his faithful and grave counsellor to death.* Eliott replied, he knew nothing of the matter. *Well*, said the emperor, *it is too true. And this will we say; that had we*

* More and Stow.

*been master of such a servant (of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience), we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions, than have lost such a worthy counsellor.* This anecdote, Mr. Roper adds, Sir Thomas Eliott reported to himself, to his wife, and to other friends.

Cardinal Pole, to whom Italy, notwithstanding his relationship to Henry, was the seat of safety, in his book *pro unitate ecclesiastica*, written in answer to Dr. Sampson's justification, by royal authority, of Henry's proceedings, compares More's death to that of Socrates. *I have seen*, saith Pole, *even the greatest strangers, who never knew him, never shared his favour, so much affected by his death, that when they read the history of it, they could not withhold their tears; and they wept at the fame only of his fate. And I° at this distance, when writing of his death, although I was not bound to him by any private ties, but loved and esteemed him rather for his virtue and probity, and because I knew his service to his country, yet God is my witness that I shed involuntary tears, which so impede my pen and blot my letters, that I proceed with difficulty.**

Erasmus, without naming Henry, remarks on the occasion, Plato went unhurt by the Æginans, Diogenes by Philip of Macedon; Antony is hated for the murder of Cicero; Nero for the death of Socrates.†

* Lib. iii. † Epist. Nucer.

We will add one, among many more similar testimonies, by Paulus Jovius, in his own words.

'Fortuna impotens, et suo more instabilis, infaustaque virtuti, si unquam superbe et truculenter jocata est, sub Henrico VIII nuper in Britannia immanissime desæviit; prostrato ante oculos Th. Moro, quem rex, paulo ante, præclarus, eximiæ virtutis admirator, ad summos honores extulerat, ut inde eum, fatali oborta insania mutatus in feram, crudeli mox impetu præcipitem daret, quod ipsius furentis tyranni nefariæ libidini, vir omnibus religionis atque justitiæ numeris longe optimus atque sanctissimus, adulari noluisset. Dum enim ille uxorem repudiare, pellicem inducere, filiamque (Mariam) magno probro abdicare properaret, Morus, scrinii magister, pietatis ac innocentiæ suæ reus, causam ad tribunal dicere coactus, impio judicio ita damnatus est, uti latronum more, terrimo supplicii genere, necaretur; nec fas esset dilacerata membra, propinquorum pietate, sepelire. Sed Henricus, vel hoc uno facinore Phalaridis æmulus, eripere non potuit, quin ad sempiternam inusitati sceleris memoriam Mori nomen in Utopia perenni constantiæ laude flueretur.'*

The features of More's character are too strongly marked and prominent, to permit us to have gone thus far into the memoirs of his life, without being pretty fully acquainted with it. In a general view, however, of the biography of even so peculiar a character as this, some traits will be

* Elog. doct. viror.

found to have less strongly impressed our attention as we proceeded, than the weight and worth of them may on a closer view appear to demand; and we may here be allowed to devote a few pages to a more particular review of certain points in that which is under our present consideration.

More's religion naturally presents itself as a prominent feature on this occasion; in reference to which he hath been pronounced a very priest, and that here his faculties were so enveloped, as to render him a weak and credulous enthusiast.

The assertion may perhaps, however, be allowed to be little hazardous, that More's bigotry hath proved a foil to his character, and that without it, he might have appeared less interesting on the whole in the eye of posterity. Born, as he had the misfortune to be, in an age of ignorance and superstition, at the very dawn of learning in our island, his ideas of religion, as well as those of his contemporaries, naturally partook of the times in which he lived. And to those times, and to the genius of the superstition in which he had been educated, we may very clearly attribute this part of the knight's character.

Erasmus saith of More in one place, that he was rather superstitious than irreligious, and in another place, that he was extremely remote from all superstition.

It hath frequently been remarked of the knight also, that in his youth he was free from that degree of bigotry, which grew upon him as he advanced in years.

Yet we know that such was his addiction early in life to monkish discipline, that he wore secretly a hair-shirt next his skin, frequently fasted, slept on a bare plank, and sometimes even scourged himself. These practices he continued even when he was chancellor, though, as Mr. Roper informs us, *he would appear like other men in his apparel and outward behaviour.* His daughter Margaret was his sole confidant in these peculiarities. She was in the habit of washing with her own hands this hair-shirt for her father, and he sent it to her the day before his execution.*

His accustomed manner alway was,' saith Mr. Roper, ere he entered into any matter of importance, as when he was first chosen of the privy-council, when he was sent ambassador, appointed speaker of the parliament-house, made chancellor, or when he took any other like weighty matter upon him, to go to church to be confessed, to hear mass and be houseled.'

The great-grandson adds, that being once sent for by the king upon urgent business while he was at mass, More refused to stir till it was over, saying *he must first serve God and then the king.* With which conduct, we are farther informed, that Henry had the merit to be pleased.

Roper and More.

The private devotions of More, as well at home as in his chapel, were also observed with the strictest regularity. His family and servants were required to participate in them daily, and with peculiar attention upon particular occasions. These observances appear to have brought those blessings upon his household, to which the true piety of them was entitled. *A marked good fortune*, saith Erasmus, *attends the servants of that house.* And his biographers have gone so far as to assert, that the prayers of the knight, when his favourite daughter was at the point of death in the sweating sickness, produced the happy effect of suggesting to his mind a remedy, which very unexpectedly led to the re-establishment of her health.

Although a part of More's piety may have been in compliance with the manners of the age, it is sufficiently evident that he had a natural propensity to devotion. This, with all the virtues of christianity in his deportment, gave a pleasing uniformity to his public and private life. And before we decide that his austerity, under the notion of religion, derogated from his general good sense, let us advert once more to the times in which he lived, soon after the resurrection of letters, when ignorance of scripture and bigotry to the catholic church had overspread the world. More inflicted not his penances upon himself with the absurd view of commuting them for wilful vices; his *intentions* were certainly good, and all that we have to excuse is, his *manner* of complying with his religion. It is true that he appears to have had different sentiments in his

youth when he wrote his Utopia, and we are nowhere informed why he thought more superstitiously afterward; but we must remember that were there no shades in this great character, it would no longer be that of man. Burnet observes of this conduct in More, that it can only be accounted-for by ascribing it to the intoxicating charms of that religion, which can darken the clearest understandings and corrupt the best natures.

Notwithstanding More's strong prejudice against the king's supremacy, he was certainly not so extravagant as some were, in his notions of the papal power. In his Confutation of Tindal he writes, that he never considered the pope as a part of the definition of the church, but that he defined the church to be *the common known congregation of all christian nations, under one head the pope.* Nay, he afterward affirmeth that a general council is above the pope, and that *there are orders in Christ's church by which a pope may be both admonished and amended, and hath been for incorrigible mind and lack of amendment finally deposed and changed.** This is the very conclusion maintained by Wiclif, and which was condemned by the council of Constance. More seemeth to have thought that a pope was not of the essence of the visible church, but that that church might subsist without a pope, under the government of provincial patriarchs or archbishops.

* Eng. works, p. 615, 621

The maxim of Horace

——————— ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?

was so stedfastly embraced by More, that his propensity to jesting hath frequently been censured by those, who had evidently a very small portion of his wit. One of our chroniclers, Hall, with more ill-nature than wit, hath even gone so far as to call him on this account *a wise foolish man, or a foolish wise man*; which severe sentence occasioned the following epigrams in vindication of the knight.

Ἡ ἐμὲ μωροσοφὸν μὲν ἄν εἴποις ἢ σοφόμωρον,
Μῶρος γαρ κόσμῳ εἰμὶ, σοφός τε Θεῶ.

Halle, tibi Morus stultus sapiensque videtur:
Stultus erat mundo nempe, Deo sapiens.

*Wise foolish, foolish wise,*
To More be titles given ——
Let earth the fool despise ——
His wisdom found him heaven.

We have the satisfaction to learn from a letter of his friend Erasmus, that More did not love an ill-natured jest which gave another person pain. It is also related of him, that he never laughed at his own jokes; but spoke on these occasions with so much gravity, that few could discover by his look whether he was jesting or serious.

The witty sayings attributed to More would form an ex-

tensive collection, if we attempted to embrace all of them which are now extant. An instance or two, in addition to those which have already occurred to our notice, may here amuse the reader.

When one of the family of Manners said to More 'honores mutant *Mores*,' the knight readily retorted upon him, that it was true in English; for then it applied to *Manners*.

When a debtor to the knight, upon being asked to discharge his claim, expatiated on the uncertainty of this life, and the inutility of money in the grave, concluding pompously, *memento morieris*, More answered him, *memento Mori æris*.

When one of his friends brought More an ill-written work, to receive his opinion of it previously to its publication, the knight told him gravely *it would be better in verse*. The man took home his book, versified it, and brought it again to More. *Yea marry*, said the knight, *now it is somewhat, for now it is rhyme; before, it was neither rhyme nor reason*.

When an arrogant fellow at Bruges had given it out that he would answer whatever question could be proposed to him in any art whatever, More caused to be put up *utrum averia capta in Withernamia sunt irreplegiabilia*; adding, that there was a person in the retinue of the English am-

bassador who would dispute with him on the question. These law terms were worse than Coptic to the braggadocio; who knew not what reply to make, and was laughed at.

As to the following anecdote related by More's great-grandson, *sit fides penes auctores*. From what we have seen of the early acquaintance of More and Erasmus, the circumstances do not appear to be very probable.

It is reported that he who conducted Erasmus to England, contrived that More and he should first meet in London, at the lord mayor's table, neither of them knowing the other. At dinner-time they fell into argument, and Erasmus was so sharply opposed by More, that at last he exclaimed with some choler, *aut tu Morus es aut nullus.* More readily replied, *aut tu es Erasmus aut Diabolus.*

This story hath also been related thus. More being at the lord mayor's table, word was brought him that a foreigner inquired for him. As dinner was nearly over, the lord mayor ordered one of his officers to take care of the gentleman and give him what he liked best. The officer took Erasmus into the lord mayor's cellar, where he chose to eat oysters and drink wine (drawn, as the custom then was, into leathern jacks). On coming to More he saluted him in Latin.

More,—*Unde venis?*

Erasmus,—*Ex inferis.*

More,—*Quid ibi agitur?*

Eras.—*Vivis vescuntur et bibunt ex ocreis.*

More,—*An tu me noscis?*

Eras.—*Aut tu es Morus aut nullus.*

More,—*Et tu es aut Deus aut Dæmon, aut meus Erasmus.*

One of More's ludicrous actions was, to employ a cut-purse to rob a justice while he sat on the bench, who had expressed an opinion that none except *careless fools* could be served so.

More was also delighted whenever he found wit in those with whom he conversed. Strype, who, as we have seen, hath repeated more than he could have proved of the knight's cruelty to the reformers, tells us, in his memorials, he had read in an old manuscript, that More, examining a protestant whose name was Silver, told him in his jesting way *silver must be tried in the fire. But quicksilver*, replied the culprit, *will not abide it.* With this ready answer, adds Strype, the knight was so delighted, that he dismissed him. And the anecdote certainly proves, against Strype's own hypothesis, that More's *cruelty* was at least not such, as to be propitiated with difficulty.

More's behaviour in the last scene of this life, hath been censured by some as too light and ludicrous for the occasion. But the fact probably is, that this behaviour was so natural to him, and the consciousness of his integrity gave him such satisfaction and courage, that the scene was even less mournful to the criminal than to many of his spectators. M. de St. Evremont dwells on the courage and constancy of Petronius Arbiter in his last moments, and thinks he discovers in them more firmness and resolution, than in the deaths of Seneca, Cato, or even Socrates. Our own Addison hath observed on this, that if he was so pleased with gaiety of humour in a dying man, he might have found a much nobler instance of it in Sir Thomas More.

'This great and learned man,' observes that chaste and correct writer, 'was famous for enlivening his ordinary discourses with wit and pleasantry; and, as Erasmus tells him in an epistle dedicatory, acted in all parts of life like a second Democritus. He died upon a point of religion, and is respected as a martyr by that side for which he suffered. That innocent mirth which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him to the last. He maintained the same cheerfulness of heart upon the scaffold, which he used to shew at his table; and, upon laying his head on the block, gave instances of that good humour with which he had alway entertained his friends in the most ordinary occurrences. His death was of a piece with his life,—there was nothing in it new, forced or affected. He did not look upon the severing his head from his body as a circumstance

which ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind; and as he died under a fixed and settled hope of immortality, he thought any unusual degree of sorrow and concern improper on such an occasion as had nothing in it which could deject or terrify him. There is no great danger of imitation from this example,—men's natural fears will be a sufficient guard against it. I shall only observe, that what was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be frenzy in one who doth not resemble him as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners.'*

More was charitable to the poor, he despised riches, and though he had opportunities, he had no inclination, to lay-up for himself treasures on earth. On his disinterestedness Mr. Roper in this manner expresseth himself. 'Thus did it, by his doings throughout the whole course of his life, appear, that all his travail and pains, without respect of earthly commodities either to himself or any of his, were only upon the service of God, the prince and the realm wholly bestowed and employed. Whom I heard in his latter time to say, that he never asked of the king for himself the value of a penny.'

Of his integrity when chancellor we can have no stronger proof, that that Henry had nothing to allege against him; and we can hardly entertain a doubt that the king would have embraced such an opportunity with alacrity in

* Spectator, N°. 349.

More's adversity, had the knight afforded him one. Mr. Roper relates an instance or two of attempts to criminate him in this particular, all of which, we shall find, served only to fix more strongly the character of his integrity.

He had made a decree against Parnell at the suit of Vaughan, and was accused of having received a gilt cup, as a bribe, of Vaughan's wife. Being summoned before the council, More gravely confessed, *forasmuch as that cup was, long after the aforesaid decree, brought him for a new-year's gift, he, upon the importunate pressing upon him thereof, of courtesy refused not to take it.* Here Lord Wiltshire, Ann Boleyn's father, exclaimed in triumph, *Lo, did I not tell ye my lords that ye should find this matter true!* More desired their lordships, *as they had heard him courteously tell one part of his tale, they would vouchsafe of their honours indifferently to hear the other.* He then declared, that although he had indeed with much difficulty received the cup, yet immediately thereupon he caused his butler to fill it with wine and he drank to the lady. When she had pledged him, he gave her the cup again, that she might give it to her husband as a new-year's gift from him; and at his urgent request, though much against her will, she at last received it. Vaughan's wife, and other witnesses present, confirmed his statement.

Mrs. Croker, a widow, for whom with much difficulty he had made a decree in chancery against Lord Arundel, brought him for a new-year's gift a pair of gloves contain-

ing forty pounds in angels. *Mistress*, said More, *since it were against good manners to forsake a gentlewoman's new-year's gift, I am content to take your gloves; but as for your money, I utterly refuse it.*

A Mr. Gresham also, having a cause depending in chancery, sent More a gilt cup, the fashion of which the knight greatly admired. He therefore ordered one of his own cups, which was inferior in beauty, yet superior in value, to be brought to him, and desired the messenger to present it to his master; on which condition alone he would receive the other.

Of More's confidence in his integrity, and his contempt of slander in his prosperity, Mr. Roper relates this instance. "The water bailif of London (sometime his servant) hearing, where he had been at dinner, certain merchants liberally to rail against his old master, waxed so discontented therewith, that he hastily came to him and told him what he had heard. *And were I, sir*, quoth he, *in such favour and authority with my prince as you are, such men surely should not be suffered so villainously and falsely to misreport and slander me. Wherefore I would wish you to call them before you, and to their shame for their lewd malice to punish them.*

More replied, with a smile, *why, Mr. Waterbailif, would you have me punish them by whom I receive more benefit than by you all who be my friends? Let them in God's name speak*

*as lewdly as they list of me, and shoot never so many arrows at me; as long as they do not hit me, what am I the worse? But if they should once hit me, then would it indeed a little trouble me. Howbeit I trust, by God's help, there shall none of them once be able to touch me,—I have more cause, I assure you Mr. Waterbailif, to pity them, than to be angry with them.*

More appears in fact, either by nature or religion, to have attained to so correct a conduct, that neither the hope of profit or popularity, nor the fear of loss or of evil tongues, could allure or deter him in his duty. In all his fortunes, good and bad, he seems still to have enjoyed one and the same equability. In his mind, no minister who was innocent of a charge alleged against him, would treat his accusers with insolence or persecute them with power. Instead of exercising his authority, when he had it, in crushing or even silencing those who opposed or slandered him, he thought, that when their arrows did not hit him he received more benefit from them than from the caresses of his friends.

And here let us pay the tribute of respect so justly due to More's early and disinterested public virtue as a patriot minister. In him we have an instance of a man of the first abilities in the kingdom, who, without patrimony or any other subsistence than that derived from his profession, had the courage and integrity to oppose the measures of the king and his ministers, when he deemed those measures

prejudicial to his country. And this in a reign, in which such opposition, so far from being customary or conducive to advancement, was seldom seen, and almost as seldom went unpunished.

His motive tóo, was solely to prevent oppression and injustice; and no bribe or advancement could bring him to change his conduct, as is too often done, and promote the measures which he had before condemned. When places were conferred upon him without his solicitation, he still retained his integrity to his country, though his prince was one of the most impatient of contradiction that ever filled our throne. The idea, as well as name, of patriot, sunk not in him so soon as he had attained to affluence; nor did he crowd the posts of public service with his relatives. Neither wavering between the measures of the king and people, nor, under colour of serving his country, intending only to acquire power and promote private interest, patriotism shone in him with a real lustre, not, as it too commonly doth, with a temporary and uncertain blaze.

Queen Catharine used to say, that Henry had only one sound counsellor in his kingdom, and that was More; the rest either spoke as the king would have them, or were inferior to More in judgment; and as for Wolsey, who was then the first subject in the realm, to answer his own ends he cared not what counsel he gave the king.*

* More.

The dignity which More had borne with so much temper, he resigned with unfeigned joy. Although he might not have objected to have seen the pope's illegal jurisdiction in England cut off, and therefore might go cheerfully along with the suit of Præmunire, yet when he perceived how far the king's designs went, and that a total rupture was likely to follow, he retired from office with a greatness of mind hardly inferior to what the ancient philosophers have pretended on similar occasions. The *cause* too of the king's divorce he might think just, and therefore favour it while it was agitated at Rome; but when he saw a breach with that court likely to follow, he at once relinquished his lofty station. His retirement to private life might have been deemed a fall great enough; and the extent to which Henry carried his resentment on this occasion, is certainly one of the foulest reproaches of his reign.*

But More's sentiments were those of a mind sublimed above all feelings of sense. Liberty, riches, nay, even life, were dross in his esteem, compared with peace of conscience and eternal salvation. Christian and philosopher, he viewed the objects of sense with supreme indifference, and having set his affections most stedfastly on the things above, he ardently desired his translation to them. His great example affords us a very superior lesson of fortitude under suffering for conscience sake, of contempt of a life of flesh in itself short and transitory, and of resignation to

* See Burnet.

the will of heaven under the most trying afflictions of humanity.

Mr. Roper informs us that in the sixteen years during which he was an inhabitant of his father-in-law's house, he did not once see More in *a fume*. Margaret Gigs, who was brought-up with More's children, said that she sometimes committed a fault for the purpose of hearing Sir Thomas chide her, he did it in so grave, and at the same time in so moderate, so loving, and so compassionate a manner. Erasmus likewise informs us of his intimate friend, *comitate totam familiam moderatur, in qua nulla tragœdia, nulla rixa.* And though More was obliged to maintain many servants, he is said never to have suffered any of them to be idle. He ever invented and assigned some avocation or other to each of them when they were not attendant upon him, that they might avoid sloth, gaming, and those profligate habits in general of which idleness is the source.*

Should any incline to infer that More at any period of his life became austere and splenetic, given wholly to devotion and philosophy, and without amusement or a taste for pleasure, they will greatly misconceive his character. His pleasures, it is true, were innocent and rational, becoming a christian and a philosopher; yet he had a heart for friendship and conviviality, and for every social feeling of our nature. 'Some,' Erasmus writes in one of his letters to More, 'take great care not to be cheated by coun-

* More.

terfeit jewels; but you, despising such trifles, account yourself rich indeed if you can find a true friend. No man taketh so much delight in cards, dice, chess, hunting, or music, as you do in conversing with a well-informed and pleasant companion.' *

From More's great-grandson we learn, that he seldom feasted the great, but his poor neighbours often; *whom he would visit in their houses and bestow upon them his large liberality, not groats, but crowns of gold; and when he was a private lawyer, he would take no fees of poor folks, widows, nor pupils.* The ignorant and the proud, even in the highest stations, were those to whom he was observed to shew the least respect. On the other hand, he was a friend and patron to every man of letters, and he maintained epistolary correspondence with most of the learned in christendom of his day.

His chief foible is said to have been an affectation of singularity; and he is even accused of having worn his gown awry, that one shoulder might appear higher than the other. Cranmer also intimateth, that More was so desirous of esteem, that having once spoken his mind, he would never deviate therefrom, for fear of injuring the credit of his judgment. But these alleged weaknesses sound too much like the invidious censures which ever attend upon distinction; and if they be with truth attributable to More, they must after all be pronounced to be of too trivial a nature

* Farrag. Epist. p. 536.

for our serious animadversion, when opposed to the nobler features of his sterling character.

*To what study soever Sir Thomas applied himself*, saith his great-grandson, *he grew in short time most famous therein.* He then complimenteth the knight's talent for poetry even in his youth, his skill in rhetoric, the purity of his Latin style, and his patience for such a wit in studying the law. Yet the same characteristic which distinguished More in other respects, and which induced him to appear to the world like his neighbours whatever his private habits and opinions might be, marked his talents also. Arrogance or overbearance were strangers to him; and he ever seemed more desirous of concealing, than of ostentatiously displaying, his talents. His own opinion of his writings was humble in the extreme. Praise, vain glory, lucre, or worldly advancement had certainly no influence on his pen, whatever Tindal and others asserted. *So that envenomed books might be once suppressed and abolished*, he wished his own *on a light and fair fire.* Of his Utopia he wrote, that he judged it no better worth, than to remain hidden in his own island, or to be consecrated to Vulcan; and of his epigrams, *you well know, dear Erasmus, they never pleased me, and if others had not liked them better than I do, they should never have been published.*

Powerful as he was in arguing upon any subject, it is related of him, that when he found a young opponent who was unable to maintain his ground against him, rather than

to discourage rising merit, he would with ingenuity divert the conversation into a different channel. Yet was this man frequently appointed by the king, on account of his ready talents, to make answer to the compliments paid to his majesty when he visited his universities; and whenever More visited a university in his own country or abroad, he not only attended their public disputations, but entered into them himself. When Henry went over to meet the French king, and when Charles V. landed in England, More was appointed to make the gratulatory addresses.*

His celebrated political romance, UTOPIA, he wrote in Latin about the year 1516. It speedily gained him great applause over Europe, was translated into French, Italian, Dutch, and English, and hath now stood the test of nearly three centuries as a masterpiece of wit and fancy. It hath, however, experienced somewhat of a severe fate, in being better known and more admired abroad, than by the author's own countrymen; a circumstance which may in some measure sanction its re-appearance in an English dress of the day, though its merit is greater than to allow of its deriving any advantage by translation.

It can hardly be questioned, that under this ingenious fiction of a commonwealth, all his own notions of government were promulgated by More. He creates a kingdom in a new world, and obliquely censureth the defects which he had observed in the old one. More probably wrote this

* Roper and More.

piece before he had heard of Luther; and the Wicklevites and Lollards were the only *heretics* then known in our country. He gave his mind full scope in it, and considered mankind and religion with the freedom of a true philosopher. It is easy to collect from it, what his thoughts then were of religion, the constitutions of the church, and of the clergy at that time. Had he died then, he would probably have been numbered with those, who though they lived in the communion of the church of Rome, yet saw her errors and corruptions, and only wanted fit opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a reformation. Upon farther knowledge, and more experience of men and things, he appears to have materially changed many of his sentiments; and it is now not very easy, as we have already remarked, to account how so great an alteration was effected in him.*

More appears, by this piece, to have been an enemy to the severity of our laws, and to have thought in this particular in the same charitable and reasonable way with his mild and gentle friend Erasmus,† and with many others even of our own day.

The HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III was written about the year 1513, More being then one of the under sheriffs of London. He wrote it in Latin as well as in English, but it was never finished by him. In the volume of his English works it is printed from a copy said to have been

* See Burnet. † Tom. v. c. 167.

in his own handwriting; and from that volume it is reprinted in the present work, as a record of our history which is little known, and which is certainly valuable if only on account of the writer.

More's great-grandson observes of this history, *it is so well penned, that if our chronicles of England were half so well set-out, they would entice all Englishmen to read them over often*, adding somewhat extravagantly, that no one ever adventured to finish the work, for the same reason that the Venus of Apelles remained unfinished.

Above a century after More's death, George Buck *took up the cudgels* for Richard, which of course made him More's opponent in this work; and above a century later came a noble speculator in our history, who seconded this advocate for a monster, and proved himself at least Buck's equal in the love of paradox. The former's censure of More's learning, and his other remarks, smell so strongly of party, and he hath found so little credit as a writer, that he cannot now be deemed worthy of a serious reply. The latter opponent, after allowing More's composition to be a beautiful one, and the writer of it to be one of the honestest statesmen and brightest names in our annals, supposes he wrote the tract, as he did his Utopia, to amuse his leisure and exercise his fancy. *He took-up a paltry canvas and embroidered it with a flowing design, as his imagination suggested the colours;* and in the end, the *honest statesman* is found guilty, not only of invention and romance, but of

palpable, material, nay, wilful falsehood. At one moment, the great knight speaks truth; in the next, he propagates the most abominable lies. All writers, of whatever credit, are respected or condemned, as they confirm or oppose the *doubter's* hypothesis; and throughout the piece, the same author from whom he produces *exhibits* to prove one assertion, he challenges as foresworn to make way for another.

Yet these conceits, however ingenious, have had little or no effect in shaking the authority of More. The most popular historian of our day pays him every respect; our judgments have not been convinced by flippancies; and Richard still remains the monster he was.

By a passage in this tract, it appears that More once thought also of writing the history of Henry VII and of Perkin Warbeck; but it is probable that he either never found leisure for accomplishing such a design, or felt that the freedom of his pen might be in some measure fettered, by the favour which he experienced from Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas, although not to be numbered with Sanazzaro, Fracastoro, Vida, and others of his time, is allowed to have been no indifferent poet; and a more assiduous application to the muses would probably have made him a superior one. His EPIGRAMS are highly commended by Rhenanus, as will be seen by the epistle prefixed to them; and many authors beside Rhenanus have borne testimony to their merit. Our own correct and classical Jortin pro-

nounces the poem on a lady of whom More had been deeply enamoured in his youth, to be the most pathetic and elegant in the collection; the reason is obvious, his hand was secretary to his heart. The short lines to Candidus, on the choice of a wife, have also been greatly admired. For the following translations of these poems, which cannot but be acceptable to the reader, I am indebted to the same distinguished hand which favoured me with the additional translation of More's epitaph; and I have added a version or two of the knight's epigrammatic stile for the amusement of the merely English reader.

*To Candidus.*

Enough by vagrant love,
Dear youth you've been misled:
O! rise these joys above,
And quit the lawless bed.

Some consort in your arms,
Heart link'd to heart, embrace;
Who with transmitted charms
Your lengthening line may grace.

So did for you your sire:
The debt, with interest due,
Posterity require,
My Candidus, from you.

Nor be it chief your aim,
Fortune or face to seek!
Slight love attends the dame,
Sought for her purse or cheek.

No purer love can bear
The flame, which fortune fires;
It vanishes in air,
And ere it lives, expires.

Nay, fortune's courted charms
Fade in the miser's grasp,
When doom'd within his arms
An unloved spouse to clasp.

And beauty's vaunted power
By fever's tooth decays;
Or time-struck, like a flower
Beneath the solar blaze.

Then vows are urged in vain——
With beauty's passing hue,
Bound singly by that chain,
Affection passes too.

But genuine is the love
Which reason, virtue rears——
All fever's force above,
Above the assault of years.

——First scrutinize her birth;
Be sure her mother's mild:
Oft with her milk her worth
The mother gives her child.

Next in herself be seen
Good temper's gentlest tone:
Still placid be her mien,
Unruffled by a frown;

And still, her cheek's best charm,
Be her's sweet modesty ——.
No lover-clasping arm,
No love-provoking eye.

Far from her lips' soft door
Be noise, be silence stern;
And her's be learning's store,
Or her's the power to learn.

With books she'll time beguile,
And make true bliss her own;
Unbuoyed by fortune's smile,
Unbroken by her frown.

So still, thy heart's delight
And partner of thy way,
She'll guide thy children right,
Where myriads go astray.

So, left all meaner things,
Thou'lt on her breast recline;
While to her lyre she sings
Strains, Philomel, like thine:

While still thy raptured gaze
Is on her accents hung,
As words of honied grace
Steal from her honied tongue——

Words they, of power to soothe
All idle joy or woe
With learning's varied truth,
With eloquence's flow.

Such Orpheus' wife, whose fate
With tears old fables tell;
Or never would her mate
Have fetched her back from hell.

Such Naso's daughter, she
Whose muse with Naso's vied;
And such might Tullia be,
Her learned father's pride.

The Gracchi's mother such,
Who train'd the sons she bore;
Famed as their mother much,
And as their tut'ress more.

——But what to distant days
My lingering glance confines?——
One girl, of equal grace,
E'en in this rude age shines:

Single, worth all, she stands——
By fame through Britain flown,
Hail'd—gaze of other lands,
Cassandra of her own.

——Say, would a maid so rare
Within thy arms repose;
Were she, nor rich, nor fair,
Could'st thou decline her vows?

Enough of beauty her's,
With whom a husband's blest:
Enough of wealth she shares,
To whom enough's a feast.

So lov'd, were she (I swear)
Than soot of darker die;
I'd think her far, more fair,
Than e'er met mortal eye:

So lov'd, were she (I swear)
Than poverty more poor;
I'd think her richer far,
Than kings with all their store.*

## *To Eliza, whom he loved in youth.*

Thou livest, Eliza, to these eyes restored,
O more than life in life's gay bloom adored!
Many a long year, since first we met, has roll'd:
I then was boyish, and I now am old.
Scarce had I bid my sixteenth summer hail,
And two in thine were wanting to the tale;
When thy soft mien—ah mien for ever fled!—
On my tranc'd heart its guiltless influence shed.
When on my mind thy much-loved image steals,
And thy sweet long-lost former self reveals;
Time's envious gripe appears but half unkind:
Torn from thyself, to me thou'rt left behind.
The grace, that held my doting glance, though flown,
Has flown thy cheek—to make my breast its throne:
And as by gentle blasts the flame is fed,
And 'mid cold ashes rears its languid head;
So thou, though changed (ah! changed indeed) to view,
Kindlest the love, that once was thine, anew.
Now on my memory breaks that happy day,
When first I saw thee with thy mates at play:

* See vol. ii, p. 308.

On thy white neck the flaxen ringlet lies,
With snow thy cheek, thy lip with roses vies.
Thine eyes, twin stars, with arrowy radiance shine,
And pierce and sink into my heart through mine.
Struck as with heaven's own bolt, stand, I gaze;
I hang upon thy look in fix'd amaze:
And as I writhe beneath the new-felt spear,
My artless pangs our young companions jeer.
So charm'd me thy fair form; or woman grown,
Or from it's ripen'd grace as woman known.
Whether the glow, that thrills our early frame,
Lit in my breast the undecaying flame;
Or some kind planet at our natal hour,
Deign'd on our hearts it's common beam to pour:
For one, who knew with what chaste warmth you burn'd,
Had blabb'd the secret of my love return'd.
Then the duenna and the guarded door
Baffled the stars, and bade us meet no more.
Sever'd, our different fates we thence pursued,
Till this late day my raptures has renewed:
This day, whose rare felicity I prize,
Has given thee safe to my delighted eyes.
Crimeless, my heart you stole in life's soft prime;
And still possess that heart without a crime.
Pure was the love, which in my youth prevail'd;
And age would keep it pure, if honour fail'd.
O may the gods, who, five long lustres past,
Have brought us to each other well at last,
Grant that—when number'd five long lustres more——
Healthful I still may hail thee, healthful as before! *

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* See vol. ii, p. 350.

## *Epigrams.*

A squall arose; the vessel's toss'd;
The sailors fear their lives are lost.
Our sins, our sins, dismayed they cry,
Have wrought this fatal destiny.

A monk it chanc'd was of the crew
And round him, to confess, they drew.
Yet still the restless ship is toss'd
And still they fear their lives are lost.

One sailor, keener than the rest,
Cries, with our sins she's still oppress'd;
Heave out that monk, who bears them all,
And then full well she'll ride the squall.

So said so done; with one accord
They throw the caitiff overboard.
And now the bark before the gale
Scuds with light hull and easy sail.

Learn hence the weight of sin to know,
With which a ship could hardly go.*

*

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While Brag was out, his wife, so frail,
To Hodge, the rustic yields.
Return'd the cuckold hears the tale,
And storms into the fields.

Poor Hodge he finds, and draws his sword——
A stone Hodge singles out——
Wretch, with my dearest wife you've whor'd——
I have, replies the lout.

* See vol. ii, p. 321.

You own it do you then, Brag cries,
'Tis well you speak the truth;
By Jove, if you had told me lies,
I'd hewn you limb from tooth!*

---

When the sun shines, but ope those rows
Of teeth, with all your power,
And then with that enormous nose
You'll gnomon-out the hour.†

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In the Leyden edition of the works of Erasmus, in the appendix to Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, and in the editions of More's Latin works, are to be found several of the knight's Latin letters. It hath been justly remarked of them, that though they be valuable on several accounts, they have one small blemish,—they are more in the style of orations than of epistles, and the periods are too long and too embarrassed.

Of all More's writings, the controversial are indisputably the most reprehensible. But in those days, as we have already had occasion to remark, the object was, not only to endeavour to refute the arguments of the adversary, but likewise to equal him in abuse. If ever More appeareth to disadvantage, it is upon these occasions. The fact is, when religion was the subject in agitation, he was no longer himself. His bigotry overcame every principle of good sense, of decorum, of humanity. Like his adversary Luther,

* See vol. ii, p. 314. † Ibid. p. 339.

his zeal and impetuosity were too hard-mouthed horses, which ran away with the chariot and the charioteer,——

——————Frustra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

Thus it is remarked by bishop Atterbury, that, in his answer to Luther, More forgot himself so far, as to throw out the greatest heap of nasty language which ever was put together; that the book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reason to support it, and gave the author no other reputation, than that of having the best knack of any man in Europe at calling bad names in good Latin. More's English tracts against Tindal, Barns, &c. deserve a similar censure, though he certainly wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any writer of that age. In his Apology, printed in his English works, More endeavoureth to extenuate this conduct, by the bluntness of his nature, and the example given him by his adversaries; but, one of his understanding doth not stand vindicated by such arguments.

Burnet saith of More that he was no divine at all, nor conversant with the critical learning upon the scriptures; that his peculiar excellence in writing was, a natural, easy expression, and he presented all the opinions of popery with their fair side to the reader, disguising or concealing the darker side with great art. He was also no less dexterous in exposing all the ill consequences which would follow

on the doctrine of the reformers, and had pleasant tales ready on all occasions, which he applied wittily to his purpose. He wrote rather for the rabble than for the learned, adds the bishop.

More's English works were published at London in a thick folio volume in the year 1557, by order of queen Mary; in whose reign it was given-out as an extraordinary circumstance, that king Edward died and she succeeded to the crown on the anniversary of the knight's suffering on the scaffold. More's nephew, William Rastell, then serjeant at law and afterward a judge, was patronised by her majesty as editor of the work; and had he written a Life of the knight (as hath been supposed), it would surely have been prefixed to the volume. As this book is now become very scarce it may not be improper to recapitulate the contents of it in this place.

Four short things written in his youth for his pastime.

The life of John Picus earl of Mirandula, translated out of Latin.

The history of king Richard III, unfinished.

A treatise (unfinished) upon these words of holy Scripture, *memorare novissima, et in eternum non peccabis.*

A dialogue concerning heresies and matters of religion.

The supplication of souls.

The confutation of Tindal.

A letter impugning the erroneous writing of John Frith against the blessed sacrament of the altar.

The apology of Sir Thomas More, knight, made by him Anno 1533, after that he had given over the office of lord chancellor of England.

The Debellacion of Salem and Bizance.

A treatise upon the blessed sacrament of the altar.

A dialogue of comfort against tribulation.

A treatise to receive the blessed body of our Lord sacramentally and virtually both.

A treatise upon the passion of Christ, unfinished.

An exposition of a part of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Certain devout and virtuous instructions, meditations, and prayers, made and collected while he was prisoner in the Tower.

Letters, his epitaph, &c.

Of More's Latin works, three editions have passed the press. The first was printed at Basle in 8vo, in 1563; the second at Louvain in folio in 1566; the last and best was published by C. Gensch in folio at Frankfort on the Maine and Leipsic in 1689. So few copies of the last edition are to be found in this country, that a recapitulation of its contents may be acceptable to the reader also.

Vita et obitus T. Mori e Thomæ Stapletoni Tribus Thomis.

Doctorum virorum varia epigrammata in laudem et mortem T. Mori.

Historia Richardi Angliæ ejus nominis III.

T. Mori responsio ad convitia M. Lutheri congesta in Henricum regem Angliæ ejus nominis VIII, sub Gulielmi Rossei nomine edita.

T. Mori expositio passionis Christi.

Quod pro fide mors fugienda non sit.

Precatio ex Psalmis.

T. Mori Utopia.

T. Mori Poemata, quibus præmissa sunt quædam ipsius et Gulielmi Lilii progymnasmata.

T. Mori dialogi Lucianei e Græcis in Latinum sermonem conversi, adjecta declamatione qua Luciani Tyrannicidæ respondetur.

T. Mori et Erasmi epistolæ.

Of More's personal pecularities we are told, that though his table was ever well supplied, he eat only of one dish himself, which was commonly salted meat. He used coarse brown bread, and was fond of milk, cheese, eggs, and fruit. Whatever dish he first tasted served him for his meal. In his youth he is said to have abstained wholly from wine; but he would taste it in his later years when diluted with water, or when he pledged his friends. To recreate the mind at the same time with the body, or perhaps to allow more leisure and digestion to his meals, he employed a person to read aloud while he sat at table, and he made occasional remarks on the subjects which occurred.*

His dress never occupied his thought. When his secre-

tary, Harris, once told him that his shoes were torn, More desired him to tell his servant, who bought and ordered all his apparel at his own discretion, and whom he called his tutor, *to buy him new ones.* In matters of the utmost importance we are told he would consult his trusty Harris, and that More often submitted to his opinion, though his own judgment might have led him to vary from it.*

More's great-grandson adds, that though low in stature, the knight's person was well-proportioned,—*his complexion tending to phlegmatic, his colour white and pale, his hair neither black, nor yellow but between both* †; *his eyes grey, his countenance amiable and cheerful, his voice neither big nor shrill, but speaking plainly and distinctly,—it was not very tuneable, though he delighted much in music; his body reasonably healthful, only that toward his latter end, by using much writing, he complained much of the ache of his breast.*

Holbein painted several family pieces for Sir Thomas, most of which appear to have been presented to the knight's friends abroad. One of the best of them is, however, at present in this country, an heirloom in the family of Sir Rowland Winn, which is allied to the Ropers. It is probably still preserved at the family residence, Nostal, in Yorkshire.

More's family, as we have seen, consisted of three daugh-

* More.

† Probably chesnut.

ters and a son; with whom he brought-up Margaret Gigs, afterward married to Dr. Clement.*

Margaret, his eldest daughter, married William Roper, Esq. of Well-hall, Eltham, Kent, and had issue, Thomas, married to Lucy, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, and privy-counsellor to Henry VIII; Anthony, of whom we have no farther information; Elizabeth, married to ——— Stevenson, Esq. and afterward to Sir Edward Bray, Knight; Margaret, married to William Dawtry, Esq.; and Mary, married to Stephen Clarke, Esq. and afterward to James Basset, Esq.†

Elizabeth, the second daughter, married John, son and heir of Sir John Dancy, and had issue John, Thomas, Bartholomew, William, German, Alice, and Elizabeth.‡

Cecilia, the third daughter, married Giles Heron, Esq. of Shacklewell, Middlesex, and had issue John, Thomas, and Ann.§

John, the only son, married Ann, daughter and heiress of Edward Cresacre, Esq. of Baronborough, Yorkshire, and had issue Thomas, Austin, Edward, Bartholomew, another Thomas, and Ann.‖

It is said that the first wife of Sir Thomas, having had three daughters, prayed most earnestly for a son. This son

* More. † Roper by Lewis, ‡ More. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

proved one of the *heroum filii* who are seldom equal to their fathers, and the knight would say, she had prayed so long for a boy, that she produced one at last who would be a boy as long as he lived. He was certainly less ornamental to More's family than his sister Margaret; but he had every advantage which a good education could afford him, and his natural parts appear to have been considerably advanced. Among the letters of Erasmus, is one addressed to him, in which the good scholar stileth him, a youth of great hope. The works of Aristotle also, printed in Greek by Forben's heirs in 1531, are dedicated to him by Erasmus; and those of Plato, and other works, by Grynæus.

Frasmus, who had frequently been an eye witness, stileth More's house, a little habitation of the muses and another academy of Plato. He injures it, however, he adds, by the comparison; for in Plato's academy they disputed of numbers and geometry, and only occasionally of moral virtues; but this house was appropriately a school of christian duty. Neither man nor woman was unemployed in it, in liberal occupation or useful study; though religion was the chief object. Discord was a stranger; not a peevish word was heard, no one was seen idle. Each had his occupation, all were cheerful, sober mirth prevailed; and the master of the house maintained this excellent economy, not by severity and chiding, but by gentleness and kindness.* When the same great scholar, in his colloquy *Ab-*

* Farrag. Epist. lib. 27.

*batis et Eruditæ* nameth the *Moricæ* among certain learned ladies, he evidently alludes to More's daughters.

The knight's favourite, Margaret, appears to have enjoyed every advantage of an understanding strong by nature and cultivated with peculiar attention. Costerius, in his notes on Vincentius Lirinensis,* gives us an emendation by her of a passage in Cyprian, which is not unworthy of the ablest critic. She also wrote two declamations in English, which she and her father translated into Latin, both with so much eloquence, that it was difficult to pronounce which of them deserved the preference. She wrote a treatise of the Four Last Things, which More declared to be better than one which he had written himself. Erasmus complimenteth her in a letter, for her learning, still more than for her virtue or manners; and when cardinal Pole read one of her letters, he could not believe that it was written by a woman.†

One of the effusions of her affection, addressed to her father in prison, is here extracted from More's English works.

*Mrs. Roper to Sir Thomas More.*

Mine own good Father!

It is to me no little comfort, since I cannot talk *with* you by such means as I *would*, at the leastway to delig..

* P. 47. † More.

myself in this bitter time of your absence by such means as I *may*; by as often writing to you as shall be expedient, and by reading again and again your most fruitful and delectable letter, the faithful messenger of your very virtuous and ghostly mind, rid from all corrupt love of worldly things, and fast knit only in the love of God and desire of heaven, as becometh a very true worshipper and a faithful servant of God. Who, I doubt not, good father, holdeth his holy hand over you, and shall (as he hath) preserve you both body and soul, *ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*; and namely now, when you have abjected all earthly consolations, and resigned yourself willingly, gladly, and fully, for his love, to his holy protection.

Father, what think you hath been our comfort since your departing from us? Surely the experience we have had of your life past, and godly conversation, and wholesome counsel, and virtuous example, and a surety, not only of the continuance of that same, but also a great increase, by the goodness of our Lord, to the great rest and gladness of your heart, devoid of all earthly dregs and garnished with the noble vesture of heavenly virtues,—a pleasant palace for the holy spirit of God to rest in. Who defend you (as I doubt not, good father, but of his goodness he will) from all trouble of mind and of body, and give me your most loving obedient daughter and handmaid, and all us your children and friends, to follow *that* that we praise in you, and to our only comfort remember and commune together of you; that we may in conclusion meet with you, mine

own dear father, in the bliss of heaven, to which our most merciful Lord hath brought us with his precious blood!

Your own most loving, obedient daughter and bedeswoman,

MARGARET ROPER,

who desireth above all worldly things to be in John a Wood's stead, to do you some service. But we live in hope that we shall shortly receive you again,—I pray God heartily we may, if it be his holy will.

---

Mrs. Roper appears to have been no less attentive to the education of her children, than her parents had been to the cultivation of her own mind. The celebrated Roger Ascham informs us, that she was very desirous of having him for their instructor; but he could not be prevailed upon at that time to leave the university. Her daughter Mrs. Basset, was one of the ladies of queen Mary's privy-chamber. This lady translated into English a part of her grandfather's Exposition of our Saviour's passion; and she imitated his style so well, that it was thought to have been translated by the knight himself.

While we are upon this subject, it may not be uninteresting to the reader to peruse a translation of one of More's letters relative to the education of his children, as preserved by Stapleton.

*Sir Thomas More to Gonellus.*

"I have received, my dear Gonellus, your letters, as usual, full of elegance and affection. Your love of my children I see by your letters, your diligence I gather from their own; for each of their letters pleased me. But especially was I delighted, that Elizabeth behaved herself with a decency of demeanour in my absence which few children observe in the presence of their parents. Give her to understand that that circumstance delighted me more, than could all the learning in the world. For I prefer the learning which is united with virtue, to all the treasures of kings; and if we separate from it propriety of conduct, what else doth the fame of letters bring us, than a kind of infamy in notoriety? This applieth peculiarly to the female sex. Their proficiency in literature being something new, and a certain reproach to the sluggishness of men, most men will be ready to attack them, and to expend their natural malice upon their learning. Nay, they will call their own ignorance a virtue, when compared with the faults of these learned. But, on the other hand, if a woman (which I wish may be the case with all my girls, and in which I have the greatest confidence under your auspices), to great excellence of character unite even a moderate portion of learning, I deem her possessed of more real good, than if she had the wealth of Crœsus and the beauty of Helen.

"And this not for the sake of fame, although she pur-

sueth worth as doth the shadow the body. But because the reward of wisdom is more substantial than to be borne away on the wings of riches, or to fade with beauty; since it placeth its dependence on rectitude of conscience, not on the tongues of others, which abound in folly and evil. For as the avoiding of infamy is the duty of a good man, so the laying himself out for fame, is the part not only of a proud, but of a ridiculous and contemptible one; since that mind must of necessity be ill at ease, which ever fluctuateth between joy and sadness from the opinions of others. But of the great benefits which learning conferreth on man, I really deem none preferable to the instruction which letters afford us, that in the attainment of them we regard not the reputation they bring us, but their utility. Which precept, although some have abused their learning, like other good possessions, by hunting only for vain glory and popular fame, yet hath it been delivered by all the most learned, and especially by the philosophers, those moderators of human life.

'I have enlarged the more on this subject of vain glory, my Gonellus, because of the expression in your letter, that you think the elevated cast of my daughter Margaret's mind should not be lowered. I agree with you in this opinion. But in my mind, and I doubt not in yours also, he seems to lower the noble disposition of his mind, who accustometh himself to admire what is vain and base. And he, on the other hand, to elevate it, who esteemeth virtue and true good; who, by contemplating sublime objects, look-

eth down as from on high, with disregard, on those shadows of good, which almost all, in ignorance, greedily catch at, for the substance.

As this seemed to me the best way, I have not only requested you my dear Gonellus, whose strong love to all mine would have led you I know to have done so of your own accord, not only my wife, to whom her true maternal piety is a sufficient impulse as I have often witnessed, but I have frequently besought almost all of my friends also, that they might afterward admonish my children, that, avoiding the precipices of pride, they walk in the pleasant meads of modesty; that the sight of riches overcome them not; that they sigh not for the want of that in themselves which is erroneously admired by others; that they think no better of themselves for being well dressed, nor worse for being otherwise, that they spoil not the beauty which nature gave them by neglect, nor endeavour to increase it by vile arts; that they esteem virtue the first, letters the second good; and that of these they esteem those the best, which can best teach them piety to God, charity to man, modesty and christian humility in their own deportment.

'Thus shall they receive from the Almighty the reward of an innocent life; in the certain expectation of which, they shall not fear death, and feeling true joy in this life, be neither puffed-up with the vain praises of men, nor broken-down by their malice. These I esteem to be the true and genuine fruits of learning; which, though they be

not put-forth by all the learned, yet, whoever studieth with this view, I maintain may produce them in the highest perfection.

'It mattereth not to the crop, whether man or woman sowed it; and if the name MAN, whose reason distinguisheth his nature from the brute, applieth to either sex, I say science, by which that reason is cultivated, and like a field beareth good corn under due tillage, equally becometh either. But if the soil in woman be bad by nature, and more productive in weeds than corn (by which opinion many deter that sex from letters), I, on the other hand, think the female genius ought on that account to be the more diligently cultivated by letters and good discipline; that the evil of nature may, by industry, be corrected. Those wise and holy men, the fathers, thought thus. Of whom, to omit the rest, Jerom and Augustin not only exhorted ladies of the highest rank and worth to the acquisition of letters, but, that they might the more easily accomplish it, they diligently expounded to them abstruse passages in scripture, and wrote long letters to young maidens with so much erudition, that old men of our day, and professors of divinity, can scarcely read, so far are they from understanding them. Which works of holy men, my learned Gonellus, you will of your goodness take care that my daughters read. From them they may best know the scope their learning ought to embrace, and they will teach them to esteem the consent of God, and a good conscience, the best fruit of their labours. So, placid and

tranquil in themselves, they will neither be set-up with the praise of the flatterer, nor feel any bite from the unlearned scoffer.

'But I hear you long ago exclaiming, that these precepts, though true, are too hard for the tender age of my children; for who is there, however old or learned, whose mind is so strong and well-poised, that he hath not the smallest inclination for glory? But, my friend, the more difficult I see it to shake-off this pest of pride, the more endeavour do I deem necessary, even from infancy. Nor do I think there is any other cause why this unavoidable evil sticketh so fast in our breasts, than because almost as soon as we are born it is sown in our minds by our nurses, next cherished by our masters, and lastly, fed and brought to perfection by our parents. For no one teacheth us any good, without the expectation of *praise* as the reward of merit; whence, being long accustomed to the love of praise, it cometh to that at last, that while we study to please the majority, and therefore the inferiority, we grow ashamed of being good.

'That this plague may be driven the farther from my children, do you my Gonellus, their mother, and all my friends, chant, inculcate, nay, bellow in their ears, that vain glory is abject and disgustful; and that there is nothing more excellent than the humble modesty recommended by Christ. This your prudent kindness will inculcate by teaching them good rather than blaming their faults; and

you will conciliate their love, not hatred, by your admonitions. And nothing can conduce more to this end, than the reading to them the precepts of the fathers. These, they know, are not angry with them; and, from their venerable sanctity, their authority must have great weight.

"Wherefore, if you will read some such things, beside their lesson in Sallust, to my Margaret and Elizabeth (for their understandings appear to be riper than those of John and Cecilia), you will increase my own as well as their obligations to you, which are already great. And my children, first dear to me by nature, then more endeared by their letters and virtue, shall become by their superior growth in learning and good manners under your auspices, superlatively dear indeed to me.

"Farewell. At Court, Whitsuneve."

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When More resigned his office of chancellor, he made a disposition of his landed property; reserving to himself his estates for the term of his life, and after his death assuring a part to his wife, a part to his son's wife as a jointure, and a part to Mr. Roper and his wife, with divers remainders over. Though this was settled long before the knight's attainder, the conveyance was then made void; and the inheritances allotted to his wife and to his son's wife were claimed by the crown. But it had so happened, that two days after More had settled his deed, he altered

his first intention; and instead of reserving that portion to himself for his life, like the rest, he gave Mr. Roper and his wife their share in possession immediately. In consequence of this, as the statute went only to annul the first conveyance, the Ropers reserved their share without molestation. Lady More was driven from the house at Chelsea, her effects were taken from her, and Henry, of his mercy, allowed her twenty pounds a-year. John More and Mrs. Roper were for some time imprisoned, but in the end they obtained their liberty.*

Erasmus survived his friend More only about a year; and concluded, in July 1536, his long and laborious life, devoted to the opposition of barbarous ignorance and blind superstition, and to the promotion of useful literature and true piety. These glorious objects he endeavoured to accomplish in a mild and gentle manner, attacking not the persons of men, but the faults of the age; till necessity compelled him to reply to those who assaulted him with the utmost disingenuity and malice.

Early in life he perceived, and disclosed to the world, that the religion of the ecclesiastics of his day consisted in minute observances and formal grimaces, with which the wicked could comply as well as the good. He, on the other hand, made religion to consist in what the worthy alone observe; in the exercise of those christian virtues, which are formed in the mind from a knowledge of our duty and

* Roper and More.

a conviction of its importance. In vain he afterward acted the pacifier; exhorting on one hand the court of Rome to proceed with more mildness, and the Lutherans, on the other, to behave with more submission and modesty. The pretensions of the former were so exorbitant, that nothing but capital punishments could support them; and the reformers were so shocked and provoked, so convinced that no compliance would be made with any of their requests, that they accounted it betraying the cause of truth to speak submissively to such incorrigible rulers.

Erasmus hath been justly censured for his weakness in flattering a party, whose sentiments and conduct he in many points disapproved; and in finding fault with those whom, on the whole, he resembled much more than he did their adversaries. But they who compelled him to this conduct, who hated the name of reformation, and treated as vile heretics all who dared even to wish for amendment, were far more blameable. If he wanted courage by nature, they who took advantage of his infirmity, far more wanted honesty and piety.

*A certain pious craft and an innocent time-serving, which however we must so use as not to betray the cause of religion, &c.* was the gospel which Erasmus preached to the Lutherans; for he imagined that they and their cause would go to ruin, and that a worse condition of things would ensue. Had they met his wishes, we might still have been involved in all the darkness which overspread the christian

world in the fifteenth century, and for previous ages. So far would the popes and ecclesiastics have been from abandoning their beloved interests, founded on ignorance and superstition, that a bloody inquisition would have been established in Italy, Spain, and all christian countries, which would have extinguished for ever the lights then beginning to shine. Lutheranism, by gaining more stability than he expected, prevented the tyranny of an inquisition in Germany; and the reformation of Calvin secured the liberty of other countries. Had all Germany submitted to Leo and Charles, in compliance with his timorous counsels, Erasmus himself would undoubtedly have been one of the first sufferers. The court of Rome, no longer apprehensive he should join the heretics, would have offered him, a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour, to the monks, who did a thousand times more service to that court, than a thousand such scholars as Erasmus. Had he lived sixteen years longer than he did, he would have seen an amazing change in the affairs of Charles, as well as in the religious state of Germany.

The apprehension of losing his revenues, the reputation he still enjoyed in the court of Rome, and was loath to relinquish, and possibly the fear of being excommunicated and proscribed, nay poisoned or assasssinated, might work together upon one of more courage than Erasmus, and restrain him from speaking freely of the controversies then agitated. He still, however, maintained the truth, though cautiously and obliquely. Though he frequently censured

Luther, he heartily wished he might carry his point, and extort from his enemies some reformation of doctrine and manners; but, as he could not imagine that Luther would succeed, he adhered outwardly to the stronger party. The fear of want cannot have influenced him to say and do what he thought unlawful; but the fear of disobliging his best friends, as Henry VIII, Charles V, the popes, George of Saxony, Wolsey, Warham, More, Campegius, Bembus, Sadolet, and others, might influence his judgment though he was not aware of it. There is no necessity to suppose, that he acted against his conscience in adhering to the church of Rome; no, he persuaded himself that he did as much as piety and prudence required, in freely censuring her defects. The bold and resolute will greatly prefer the conduct of Luther; who, as the apologists of the good scholar must allow, acted far more like an apostle or primitive christian, than did Erasmus.

Concord is undoubtedly a valuable blessing; yet it is not to be purchased at the price of truth and liberty. These are infinitely more estimable than a sordid tranquillity beneath the yoke of falsehood and arbitrary dominion, under which the christian republic becomes a base faction, solicitous only of enjoying the present, and neglecting every thing laudable, under the pretext of preserving peace. And, had the pacific schemes of Erasmus been pursued, such would probably have been the present state of christianity. Though divisions in general do much harm, they have at least produced this good; the truth of the gospel, and a

christian liberty which acquiesceth only in the decisions of Christ, are not entirely banished from the earth, as they would have been without the struggles of our ancestors. They produced no small benefit to the memory of Erasmus himself; who having his works condemned by theological cabals, and mangled by inquisitions, which struck out the most valuable part of his writings, would have been stigmatised through succeeding ages, if a party had not arisen in Europe, which willingly forgives him his weakness and irresolution, for the sake of his useful philological and theological labours; and gave him a second life, and recommended him to the christian world, by an elegant and faithful edition of his works.

Erasmus, it hath been said, was not rewarded in proportion to his merit. Yet, if we consider how many presents, invitations, and favours he received, how many he refused, and how little inclination he had for ecclesiastical preferments (more of which he might have obtained), we cannot class him with the *infelices literati*. In him we have a very remarkable instance of a man, who, with numerous disadvantages of birth and education, friendless and poor, overcame every obstacle, and, by dint of talent and industry, became one of the first scholars of his age, acquiring the patronage of princes, nobles, and prelates, of the greatest names in church as well as state.*

It is a pleasing circumstance in the history of two great

* See Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

men like More and Erasmus, that the bond of friendship into which they entered in early life, appears never to have been broken; though, if we contrast the freedom of spirit displayed by the one, and the prejudices of the other, such an infraction may appear to have been sufficiently hazarded. As late in his life as he could, the knight still corresponded with his friend, and shewed him to the last the same esteem which he had ever entertained for him. In one of these letters he gently admonisheth the great scholar, not to recant or retract anything; but merely to condescend as far as he could to the infirmities of some honest and weak brethren. Thus the bigotted advice which More hath been said to have given his friend is a misrepresentation, though the use made by the reformers of the theological works of Erasmus might perhaps not unreasonably have contributed to diminish the knight's affection for him; since he could not be well pleased to find himself pressed by such arguments.*

We will add, by way of appendix to these Memoirs, three letters by Erasmus relative to More. The first, to Hutten, in drawing a portrait of the knight, will be found to describe minute particularities of his mind and body. That to Budæus contains a farther account of his manner of living and managing his family, and of the excellent dispositions and uncommon erudition of his daughters. The last, published under the name Nucerinus, gives us an elegant and pathetic account of the deaths of More and

* Jortin.

Fisher, and though not acknowledged by him, hath been commonly, and with some probability, ascribed to Erasmus. As much of the spirit of these letters would be lost by translation, they are given in the original language; and we will add a few Testimonies, by the learned of his day, relative to More and his writings, which appear to demand a place on an occasion like the present.

# APPENDIX

TO THE

# MEMOIRS

# APPENDIX.

*Erasmus Rot. Ulrico Hutteno S. D.*

Quod Thomæ Mori ingenium sic deamas, ac pene dixerim deperis, nimirum scriptis illius inflammatus, quibus ut vere scribis nihil esse potest neque doctius neque festivius, istuc mihi crede clarissime Huttene tibi cum multis commune est, cum Moro mutuum etiam. Nam is vicissim adeo scriptorum tuorum genio delectatur, ut ipse tibi propemodum invideam. Hæc videlicet est illa Platonis omnium maxime amabilis sapientia, quæ longe flagrantiores amores excitat inter mortales, quam ullæ quamlibet admirabiles corporum formæ. Non cernitur illa quidem oculis corporeis, sed et animo sui sunt oculi, ut hic quoque verum comperiatur illud Græcorum ἐν τῇ ὀφθαλμῷ γίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἐρᾶν. Per hos fit aliquoties, ut ardentissima charitate conglutinentur, inter quos nec colloquium nec mutuus conspectus intercessit. Et quemadmodum vulgo fit, ut incertis de causis alia forma alios rapiat; ita videtur et ingeniorum esse tacita quædam cognatio, quæ facit ut certis ingeniis impense delectemur, cæteris non item.

Cæterum, quod a me flagitas, ut tibi totum Morum velut in tabula depingam, utinam tam absolute præstare queam quam tu vehementer cupis. Nam mihi quoque non injucundum fuerit interim in amici multo omnium suavissimi

contemplatione versari. Sed primum ὁ πάνλως ἀνδρὸς ἰδεῖν omnes Mori dotes perspexisse. Deinde haud scio an ille laturus sit, a quolibet artifice depingi sese. Nec enim arbitror levioris esse operæ Morum effingere, quam Alexandrum Magnum aut Achillem, nec illi quam hic noster immortalitate digniores erant. Tale argumentum prorsus Apellis cujuspiam manum desiderat; at vereor, ne ipse Fulvii Rutubæque similior sim quam Apellis. Experiar tamen tibi totius hominis simulacrum delineare verius quam exprimere, quantum ex diutina domesticaque consuetudine vel animadvertere licuit vel meminisse. Quod si quando fiet ut vos aliqua legatio committat, tum demum intelliges quam non probum artificem ad hoc negotii delegeris, vereorque plane ne me aut invidentiæ incuses aut cæcutientiæ, qui ex tam multis bonis tam pauca vel viderim lippus vel commemorare voluerim invidus.

Atque ut ab ea parte exordiar qua tibi Morus est ignotissimus, statura modoque corporis est infra proceritatem, supra tamen notabilem humilitatem. Verum omnium membrorum tanta est symmetria, ut nihil hic omnino desideres; cute corporis candida, facies magis ad candorem vergit quam ad pallorem, quanquam a rubore procul abest nisi quod tenuis admodum rubor ubique sublucet, capilli subnigro flavore, sive mavis sufflavo nigrore, barba rarior, oculi subcæsii maculis quibusdam interspersi, quæ species ingenium arguere solet felicissimum, apud Britannos etiam amabilis habetur, cum nostri nigrore magis capiantur. Negant ullum oculorum genus minus infestari vitiis. Vultus ingenio respondet, gratam et amicam festivitatem semper præ se ferens, ac nonnihil ad ridentis habitum compositus; atque, ut ingenue dicam, appositior ad jucunditatem quam ad gravitatem aut dignitatem, etiamsi longissime abest ab ineptia scurrilitateque. Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, presertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit natura sed assuetudine, qualia permulta nobis solent adhærere. In reliquo corpore nihil est quod offendat, manus tantum subrusticæ sunt; ita duntaxat, si ad reliquam corporis speciem conferantur.

Ipse omnium quæ ad corporis cultum attinent semper a puero negligentissimus fuit, adeo ut nec illa magnopere curare sit solitus, quæ sola viris esse curanda docet Ovidius. [Formæ venustas quæ fuerit adolescenti, nec etiam

licet ἐκ τῆς καλάμης conjicere; quanquam ipse novi hominem non majorem annis viginti tribus, nam nunc non multum excessit quadragesimum. Valetudo prospera magis quam robusta, sed tamen quæ quantislibet laboribus sufficiat honesto cive dignis, nullis aut certe paucissimis morbis obnoxia. Spes est vivacem fore, quando patrem habet admodum natu grandem sed mire virenti vegetaque senectute. Niminem adhuc vidi minus morosum in delectu ciborum. Ad juvenilem usque ætatem aquæ potu delectatus est, id illi patrium fuit. Verum hac in re ne cui molestus esset, fallebat convivas e stanneo poculo cervisiam bibens, eamque aquæ proximam, frequenter aquam meram. Vinum, quoniam illic mos est ad idem poculum vicissim invitare sese, summo ore nonnunquam libabat, ne prorsus abhorrere videretur, simul ut ipse communibus rebus assuesceret. Carnibus bubulis, salsamentis, pane secundario ac vehementer fermentato libentius vescebatur, quam his cibis quos vulgus habet in deliciis. Alioqui neutiquam abhorrens ab omnibus quæ voluptatem innoxiam adferunt etiam corpori. Lactariorum, et eorum fœtuum qui nascuntur in arboribus, semper fuit appetentior; esum ovorum in deliciis habet. Vox neque grandis est nec admodum exilis, sed quæ facile penetret aures, nihil habens canorum ac molle sed plane loquentis est; nam ad musicam vocalem a natura non videtur esse compositus, etiamsi delectatur omni musices genere. Lingua mire explanata articulataque, nihil habens nec præceps nec hæsitans. Cultu simplici delectatur, nec sericis purpurave aut catenis aureis utitur, nisi cum integrum non est ponere. Dictu mirum quam negligens sit ceremoniarum, quibus hominum vulgus æstimat morum civilitatem; has ut a nomine exigit, ita aliis non anxie præstat nec in congressibus nec in conviviis, licet harum non sit ignarus, si lubeat uti. Sed muliebre putat viroque indignum, ejusmodi ineptiis bonam temporis partem absumere.

Ab aula principumque familiaritate olim fuit alienior, quod illi semper peculiariter invisa fuerit tyrannis quemadmodum æqualitas gratissima. Vix autem reperies ullam aulam tam modestam quæ non multum habeat strepitus atque ambitionis, multum fuci, multum luxus, quæque prorsus absit ab omni specie tyrannidis. Quin nec in Henrici VIII. aulam pertrahi potuit nisi multo negotio, cum hoc principe nec optari quicquam possit civilius ac modestius. Naturæ libertatis atque otii est avidior, sed quemadmodum otio cum datur lubens utitur, ita quoties poscit res, nemo vigilantior aut patientior. Ad ami-

citiam natus factusque videtur, cujus et sincerissimus est cultor, et longe tenacissimus est. Nec ille metuit πολυφιλίαν ab Hesiodo * parum laudatam. Nulli non patet ad necessitudinis fœdus. Nequaquam morosus in deligendo, commodissimus in alendo, constantissimus in retinendo. Si foris incidit in quempiam, cujus vitiis mederi non possit, hunc per occasionem dimittit, dissuens amicitiam, non abrumpens. Quos sinceros reperit, et ad ingenium suum appositos, horum consuetudine fabulisque sic delectatur, ut in his rebus præcipuam vitæ voluptatem ponere videatur. Nam a pila, alea, chartis, cæterisque lusibus, quibus vulgus procerum temporis tædium solet fallere, prorsus abhorret. Porro ut propriarum rerum est negligentior, ita nemo diligentior in curandis amicorum negotiis.

Quid multis? si quis absolutum veræ amicitiæ requirat exemplar, a nemine rectius petierit quam a Moro. In convictu tam rara comitas ac morum suavitas, ut nemo tam tristi sit ingenio quem non exhilaret, nulla res tam atrox cujus tædium non discutiat. Jam inde a puero sic jocis est delectatus, ut ad hos natus videri possit; sed in his nec ad scurrilitatem usque progressus est, nec mordacitatem unquam amavit. Adolescens comœdiolas et scripsit et egit. Si quod dictum esset salsius, etiam in ipsum tortum, tamen amabat; usque adeo gaudet salibus argutis, et ingenium redolentibus; unde et epigrammatis lusit juvenis, et Luciano cum primis est delectatus, quin et mihi, ut Morias Encomium scriberem, hoc est, ut camelus saltarem, fuit auctor. Nihil autem in rebus humanis obvium est unde ille non venetur voluptatem, etiam in rebus maxime seriis. Si cum eruditis et cordatis res est, delectatur ingenio; si cum indoctis ac stultis, fruitur illorum stultitia. Nec offenditur morionibus, mira dexteritate ad omnium affectus sese accommodans. Cum mulieribus fere, atque etiam cum uxore, non nisi lusus jocosque tractat. Diceres alterum quendam esse Democritum, aut potius Pythagoricum illum philosophum, qui vacuus animo per mercatum obambulans, contemplatur tumultus vendentium atque ementium. Nemo minus ducitur vulgi judicio, sed rursus nemo minus abest a sensu communi. Præcipua illi voluptas est spectare formas, ingenia et affectus diversorum animantium; proinde nullum fere genus est avium quod domi non alat, si quod aliud animal vulgo rarum, veluti simia, vulpes, vi-

* Εργ. 715.

verra, mustela, et his consimilia. Ad hæc si quid exoticum, aut alioqui spectandum occurrat, avidissime mercari solet, atque his rebus undique domum habet instructam, ut nusquam non sit obvium quod oculos ingredientium demoretur; ac toties sibi renovat voluptatem, quoties alios conspicit oblectari. Cum ætas ferret, non abhorruit a puellarum amoribus, sed citra infamiam, et sic ut oblatis magis fueretur quam captatis, et animo mutuo caperetur potius quam coitu.

Bonas literas a primis statim annis hauserat. Juvenis ad Græcas literas ac philosophiæ studium sese applicuit, adeo non opitulante patre, viro alioqui prudenti proboque, ut ea conantem omni subsidio destitueret; ac pene pro abdicato haberet, quod a patriis studiis desciscere videretur, nam is Britannicarum legum peritiam profitetur. Quæ professio, ut est a veris literis alienissima, ita apud Britannos cum primis habentur magni clarique, qui in hoc genere sibi parârunt auctoritatem, nec temere apud illos alia via ad rem ac gloriam parandam magis idonea. Siquidem pleramque nobilitatem illius insulæ peperit hoc studiorum genus. In eo negant quenquam absolvi posse, nisi plurimos annos insudarit. Ab hoc igitur cum non injuria abhorreret adolescentis ingenium, melioribus rebus natum, tamen post degustatas scholasticas disciplinas, sic in hoc versatus est, ut neque consulerent quenquam libentius litigatores, neque quæstum uberiorem faceret quisquam eorum qui nihil aliud agebant; tanta erat vis ac celeritas ingenii. Quin et evolvendis orthodoxorum voluminibus non segnem operam impendit. Augustini libros De Civitate Dei publice professus est adhuc pene adolescens auditorio frequenti, nec puduit nec pœnituit sacerdotes ac senes a juvene profano sacra discere. Interim et ad pietatis studium totum animum appulit, vigiliis, jejuniis, precationibus aliisque consimilibus progymnasmatis sacerdotium meditans. Qua quidem in re non paulo plus ille sapiebat, quam plerique isti qui temere ad tam arduam professionem ingerunt sese, nullo prius sui periculo facto.

Neque quicquam obstabat quo minus sese huic vitæ generi addiceret, nisi quod uxoris desiderium non posset excutere. Maluit igitur maritus esse castus, quam sacerdos impurus. Tamen virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, rudem adhuc, utpote ruri inter parentes ac sorores semper habitam, quo magis illi liceret illam ad suos mores fingere. Hanc et literis instruendam

curavit et omni Musices genere doctam reddidit, planeque talem penè finxerat quicum lubuisset universam ætatem exigere, ni mors præmatura puellam sustulisset e medio; sed enixam liberos aliquot, quorum adhuc supersunt puellæ tres, Margareta, Aloysia, Cecilia, puer unus Joannes. Neque diu cœlebs vivere sustinuit, licet alio vocantibus amicorum consiliis; paucis mensibus a funere uxoris viduam duxit magis curandæ familiæ quàm voluptati, quippe nec bellam admodum nec puellam, ut ipse jocari solet, sed acrem ac vigilantem matrem familias, quicum tamen perinde comiter suaviterque vivit, ac si puella foret forma quantumlibet amabili. Vix ullus maritus a sua tantum obsequii impetrat imperio atque severitudine, quantum hic blanditiis jocisque. Quid enim non impetret, posteaquam effecit, ut mulier jam ad senium vergens, ad hoc animi minime mollis, postremo ad rem attentissima, cithara, testudine, monochordo, tibiisque canere disceret, et in hisce rebus quotidie præscriptum operæ pensum exigenti marito redderet? Consimili comitate totam familiam moderatur, in qua nulla tragædia, nulla rixa. Si quid exstiterit, protinus aut medetur, aut componit. Neque quenquam unquam dimisit ut inimicum, aut ut inimicus. Quin hujus domus fatalis quædam videtur felicitas, in qua nemo vixit qui non provectus sit ad meliorem fortunam, nullus unquam ullam famæ labem contraxit. Quin vix ullos reperias, quibus sic convenerit cum matre, ut huic cum noverca, nam pater jam alteram induxerat; utramque non minus adamavit ac matrem. Nuper induxit tertiam, hac Morus sancte dejerat se nihil unquam vidisse melius. Porro erga parentes ac liberos sorores que sic affectus est, ut nec amet moleste, nec usquam desit officio pietatis. Animus est a sordido lucro alienissimus. Liberis suis semovit e facultatibus quod illis satis esse putat, quod superest largiter effundit.

Cum advocationibus adhuc aleretur, nulli non dedit amicum verumque consilium, magis illorum commodis prospiciens quam suis; plerisque solitus persuadere uti litem componerent, minus enim hic fore dispendii. Id si minus impetrabat, tum rationem indicabat qua possent quam minimo dispendio litigare, quando quibusdam hic animus est ut litibus etiam delectentur. In urbe Londoniensi, in qua natus est, annos aliquot judicem egit in causis civilibus; id munus, ut minimum habet oneris (nam non sedetur nisi die Jovis usque ad prandium) ita cum primis honorificum habetur. Nemo plures causas absolvit, nemo se gessit integrius, remissa plerisque pecunia, quam ex præscripto debent

qui litigant. Siquidem ante litis contestationem actor deponit tres drachmas, totidem reus, nec amplius quicquam fas est exigere. His moribus effecit, ut civitati suæ longe charissimus esset. Decreverat autem hac fortuna esse contentus, quæ et satis haberet auctoritatis, nec tamen esset gravibus obnoxia periculis.

Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem, in quâ cum se cordatissime gessisset, non conquievit serenissimus rex Henricus, ejus nominis octavus, donec hominem in aulam suam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus unquam vehementius ambiit in aulam admitti, quam hic studuit effugere. Verum cum esset optimo regi in animo familiam suam eruditis, gravibus, cordatis et integris viris differtam reddere, cum alios permultos, tum Morum in primis accivit; quem sic in intimis habet, ut a se nunquam patiatur discedere. Sive seriis utendum est, nihil illo consultius; sive visum est regi fabulis amænioribus laxare animum, nullus comes festivior. Sæpe res arduæ judicem gravem et cordatum postulant, has sic Morus discutit ut utraque pars habeat gratiam. Nec tamen ab eo quisquam impetravit, ut munus a quoquam acciperet. Felices res publicas, si Mori similes magistratus ubique præficeret princeps! Nec interim ullum accessit supercilium. Inter tantas negotiorum moles, et veterum amiculorum meminit, et ad literas adamatas subinde redit. Quicquid dignate valet, quicquid apud amplissimum regem gratia pollet, id omne juvandæ reipublicæ, juvandis amicis impendit. Semper quidem adfuit animus de cunctis benemerendi cupidissimus, mireque pronus ad misericordiam; eum nunc magis exerit, quando potest plus prodesse. Alios pecunia sublevat, alios auctoritate tuetur, alios commendatione provehit; quos alioqui juvare non potest, his consilio succurit; nullum unquam a se tristem dimisit. Diceres Morum esse publicum omnium inopum patronum. Ingens lucrum sibi putat accessisse, si quem oppressum sublevavit, si perplexum et impeditum explicuit, si alienatum redegit in gratiam. Nemo lubentius collocat beneficium, nemo minus exprobrat. Jam cum tot nominibus sit felicissimus, et felicitatis comes fere soleat esse jactantia, nullum adhuc mortalium mihi videre contigit qui longius abesset ab hoc vitio.

Sed ad studiorum commemorationem redeo, quæ me Moro, mihique Morum potissimum conciliarunt. Primam ætatem carmine potissimum exercuit, mox

diu luctatus est ut prosam orationem redderet molliorem, per omne scripti genus stylum exercens, qui cujusmodi sit quid attinet commemorare? tibi præsertim qui libros ejus semper habeas in manibus. Declamationibus præcipue delectatus est, et in his, materiis adoxis, quod in his acrior sit ingeniorum exercitatio. Unde adolescens etiamnum dialogum molicbatur, quo Platonis communitatem ad uxores usque defendit. Luciani Tyrannicidæ respondit, quo in argumento me voluit antagonistam habere; quo certius periculum faceret, ecquid profecisset in hoc genere. Utopiam hoc consilio edidit, ut indicaret quibus rebus fiat, ut minus commode habeant respublicæ; sed Britannicam potissimum effinxit, quam habet penitus perspectam cognitamque. Secundum librum prius scripserat per otium, mox per occasionem primum adjecit extempore; atque hinc nonnulla dictionis inæqualitas.

Vix alium reperias qui felicius dicat extempore, adeo felici ingenio felix lingua subservit. Ingenium præsens et ubique prævolans, memoria parata, quæ cum omnia habeat velut in numerato, promte et incontanter suggerit quicquid tempus aut res postulat. In disputationibus nihil fingi potest acutius, adeo ut summis etiam theologis sæpe negotium facessat, in ipsorum arena versans. Joannes Coletus, vir acris exactique judicii, in familiaribus coloquiis subinde dicere solet *Britanniæ non nisi unicum esse ingenium*, cum hæc insula tot egregiis ingeniis floreat. Veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor est, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus. Habet suas horas quibus Deo litet precibus, non ex more sed e pectore depromtis. Cum amicis sic fabulatur de vita futuri seculi, ut agnoscas illum ex animo loqui, neque sine optima spe. Ac talis Morus est etiam in aula. Et postea sunt qui putent christianos non inveniri nisi in monasteriis. Tales viros cordatissimus rex in familiam suam atque adeo in cubiculum non solum admittit, verum etiam invitat, nec invitat modo verum etiam pertrahit. Hos habet arbitros ac testes perpetuos vitæ suæ, hos habet in consiliis, hos habet itinerum comites. Ab his stipari gaudet, potius quam luxu perditis juvenibus aut mulierculis, aut etiam torquatis Midis, aut insinceris officiis; quorum alius ad voluptates ineptas avocet, alius ad tyrannidem inflammet, alius ad expilandum populum novas technas suggerat.

In hac aula si vixisses Huttene, sat scio rursum aliam aulam describeres, et *misaulos* esse desineres, quanquam tu quoque cum eo principe vivis ut inte-

griorem nec optare possis. Neque desunt qui rebus optimis faveant, veluti Stromerus ac Coppus. Sed quid ista paucitas ad tantum examen insignium virorum, Montjoii, Linacri, Pacæi, Coleti, Stocschleii, Latimeri, Mori, Tonstalli, Clerici, atque aliorum his adsimilium? quorum quemcumque nominaris, mundum omnium virtutum ac disciplinarum semel dixeris. Mihi vero spes est haudquaquam vulgaris, fore ut Albertus, unicum his temporibus nostræ Germaniæ ornamentum, et plures sui similes in suam allegat familiam, et cæteris principibus gravi sit exemplo, ut idem et ipsi suæ quisque domi facere studeant. Habes imaginem ad optimum exemplar a pessimo artifice non optime delineatam. Ea tibi minus placebit, si continget Morum nosse propius. Sed illud tamen interim cavi, ne mihi possis impingere quod tibi minus paruerim, neve semper opprobres nimium breves epistolas. Etiamsi hæc nec mihi scribenti visa est longior nec tibi legenti, sat scio prolixa videbitur; id faciet Mori nostri suavitas. Verum, ne nihil ad postremam tuam epistolam respondeam, &c. Antwerpiæ, X. Cal. Aug. Anno 1519. (Epist. 447).

*Erasmus Rot. Gulielmo Budæo, S. D.*

——————Est quod Moro gratuleris. Nam rex hunc; nec ambientem nec flagitantem, munere magnifico honestavit, addito salario nequaquam pœnitendo; est enim principi suo a thesauris. Ea functio apud Britannos, ut est splendida cum primis atque honorifica, ita non admodum est obnoxia nec invidiæ nec molestis negotiis. Erat competitor, homo sat gratiosus, qui sic ambiebat hoc muneris, ut non gravaretur suo victu ciboque gerere. At rex optimus hic certissimum in Morum favoris argumentum dedit, qui non ambienti salarium etiam addere maluerit, quam gratuitum magistratum admittere. Nec hoc contentus princeps benignissimus, equitis aurati dignitatem adjecit. Neque dubitandum est quin illum sit amplioribus ornamentis aliquando cumulaturus, quum sese offeret occasio. Siquidem cælibes evehere longe proclivius est principibus. At Morus sic est admixtus ordini conjugum, ut nec uxoris obitu sit emancipandus. Priorem enim, quam virginem duxerat, extulit; et hanc viduus viduam duxit. Sed hunc principis animum hoc magis gratulor Moro, quod quicquid huic accesserit vel autoritatis vel gratiæ, id existimem bonis studiis accedere; quibus ille sic favet, ut si pares essent animo facultates, non deesset apud Britannos felicibus ingeniis candidus ac benignus Mæcenas. Solent aulæ principum idem facere quod medici, qui corpus sibi traditum primum inaniunt, mox implent ac vegetant. Nec dubito quin Moro nostro simile quippiam acciderit hactenus. Quid tibi venerit usu, tute melius nosti. Et tamen illius benignitatem senserunt ingenia, quum adeo non abundaret illi quod largiretur, ut ære gravaretur alieno.

Nec hac parte solum ornat studia, quod ipse doctissimus candide favet doctis omnibus, verum etiam quod universam familiam honestissimis literarum studiis excolendam curat; novo quidem hactenus exemplo, sed quod brevi plures ni fallor sint imitaturi, adeo feliciter succedit. Habet filias tres, quarum maxima natu Margareta jam nupta est juveni, primum beato, deinde moribus integerrimis ac modestissimis, postremo non alieno a nostris studiis. Omnes a teneris annis curavit imbuendas, primum castis ac sanctis moribus, deinde politioribus literis. Filiabus tribus quartam adjunxit puellam, quam benig-

nitatis gratia alit, ut illis sit sodalis. Habet privignam mira forma ratoque ingenio puellam, annos jam aliquot nuptam juveni non indocto, sed cujus moribus nihil sit magis aureum. Habet filium ex uxore priore, natum annos plus minus tredecim, ex liberis natu minimum. Ante annum visum est Moro mihi specimen aliquod exhibere, quantum in literis profecissent. Jussit ut omnes ad me scriberent, et quidem suo quisque Marte. Nec argumentum est suppeditatum, nec in sermone quicquam est correctum; etenim cum illi schedas obtulissent patri castigandas, ille velut offensus incommoda scriptura, jussit ut eadem accuratius ac purius describerent. Id ubi factum est, ne syllaba quidem mutata, literas obsignatas ad me misit. Crede mihi, Budæe, nihil æque sum admiratus. In sensibus nihil erat ineptum aut puellare; sermo talis, ut sentires esse quotidie proficientium.

Hunc chorum amabilem una cum sponsis duobus domi habet. Nullam illic videbis otiosam, nullam ineptiis muliebribus occupatam. Illis T. Livius est in manibus. Nam eo progressæ sunt, ut auctores hujusmodi legant et intelligant citra interpretem, nisi si quod incidat verbum, quod me quoque fortassis aut mei similem fuerat remoraturum. Uxor, ingenio magis ac rerum usu quam eruditione valens, mira dexteritate moderatur omne collegium, ἐργοδιώκτου cujuspiam vicibus fungens, pensum cuique præscribens atque exigens, neque sinens cessare quenquam nec frivolis occupari. Soles in literis tuis subinde queri, quod tua causa male audiret philologia, quæ tibi duo mala conciliasset, valetudinis ac rei familiaris dispendium. At Morus hoc agit, ut omnibus nominibus, et apud omnes bene audiat; hoc literis debere se prædicans, quod prosperiore sit valetudine, quod optimo principi, quod suis et exteris charus et gratiosus, quod re lautiore, quod sibi quod amicis jucundior, quod patriæ quod cognatis et affinibus utilior, quod ad aulæ commercium quod ad procerum convictum quod ad omnem vitæ consuetudinem accommodatior, denique quod superis gratior. Primum male audiebant studia, quod sensum communem adimerent addicto cultori. Nulla est profectio, nulla negotia tam multa tam ardua, quæ libellos Moro de manibus excutiant; et tamen vix alium reperies qui magis sit omnibus omnium horarum homo, qui ad obsequium facilior, ad congressus magis obvius, in colloquio magis alacer, quique tantum veræ prudentiæ cum tanta morum suavitate conjunxerit. Quibus rebus factum est, ut quum ante paucos dies literarum amor ad omne vitæ vel præsidium vel

ornamentum haberetur inutilis, nunc nemo pene sit magnatum, qui liberos ut majorum imaginibus dignos agnoscat, nisi bonis literis eruditos. Quin et monarchis ipsis bona regalium decorum pars abesse videtur, in quibus literarum peritia desideretur.

Jam neminem fere mortalium non habebat hæc persuasio, sexui fœmineo literas et ad castitatem et ad famam esse inutiles. Nec ipse quondam prorsus ab hac abhorrui sententia; verum hanc mihi Morus penitus excussit animo. Etenim quum duabus rebus potissimum periclitetur puellarum castitas, otio ac lascivis lusibus, ab horum utroque literarum arcet amor. Nec alia res melius tuetur famam integram, quam mores incontaminati. Nec ullæ firmius castæ sunt, quam quæ judicio castæ sunt. Neque vero improbo consilium eorum, qui manuariis operis prospiciunt pudicitiæ filiarum. Verum nulla res sic totum puellæ pectus occupat, ut studium. Atque hinc præter hoc fructus, quod animus ab otio pernicioso prohibetur, hauriuntur optima præcepta, quæ mentem ad virtutem et instituant et inflamment. Multis simplicitas et rerum inscitia pudicitiæ jacturam attulit, priusquam scirent quibus rebus tantus thesaurus periclitaretur. Neque video cur maritis sit metuendum, ne minus habeant morigeras si doctas habeant, nisi si qui tales sint, ut ea velint exigere ab uxoribus quæ non sunt exigenda a probis matronis. Imo mea sententia nihil est intractabilius inscitia. Certe hoc præstat animus cultura studiorum exercitatus, ut intelligat æquas probasque rationes, videatque quid deceat quid expediat. Atque propemodum persuasit, qui rem docuit. Ad hæc quum jucunditas firmitasque conjugii magis ab animorum benevolentia, quam corporum amore proficiscatur, multo tenacioribus vinculis junguntur quos ingeniorum quoque charitas copulat; magisque veretur maritum uxor, quem agnoscit et preceptorem. Nec ideo minus habebit pietatis, quia minus habet superstitionis. Equidem malo talentum auri puri, quam tria talenta multo plumbo scoriaque vitiata. Audimus passim alias mulierculas sic a concione redeuntes, ut prædicent mirifice fuisse concionatum qui dixit, ac vultum hominis graphice depingunt; ceterum neque quid dixerit, neque quale sit quod dixit recensere possunt. Hæ tibi totam pene concionem ordine referunt non sine delectu; si quid stulte, si quid impie, si quid extra rem effutiit ecclesiastes (quemadmodum hodie non raro fieri videmus) id norunt vel ridere vel negligere vel detestari. Atque hoc demum est audire sacras conciones; cum hujusmodi

demum vere jucundum est convivere. Plurimum enim ab istis dissentio, qui conjuges non in alium usum habent quam ad obsequium voluptatis, quam ad rem magis appositæ sunt semifatuæ. Pectus habeat, oportet, quæ familiam contineat in officio, quæ liberorum mores fingat ac formet, quæ marito per omnia satisfaciat.

Cæterum cum proximo colloquio illud objecissem Moro, quod si quid humanitus accideret, fore ut gravius discruciaretur earum desiderio in quibus instituendis tantum insumsisset operæ, respondit incontanter, si quid acciderit quod vitiari non potest, malim eas mori doctas quam indoctas. Moxque mihi venit in mentem Phocionis, ni fallor, apophthegma, cui bibituro cicutam cum uxor acclamaret *mi vir innocens morieris; quid*, inquit, *ais uxor, an me malles nocentem mori?* Interim illa cogitatio subiit animum meum, ut vos duos ceu duces quosdam eximios in hoc laudis genere componam, veluti si quis Camillum committat cum Scipione Africano. Tu et pluribus annis et iniquiore seculo cum literarum hostibus es conflictatus, hoc certe calculo Morb superior. Cæterum quod tu in filiis tantum ac fratribus ausus es moliri, hoc ille non dubitat et in uxoribus et in filiabus facere, fortiter contempta novi exempli invidia; quo nomine vicissim ille te præcellit. Tu rursum libris editis utriusque literaturæ proventum magis auxisti quam ille, copiosius etiam, uti nobis pollicemur, in posterum aucturus, si modo cœperis opes tuas a scriniis depromtas in populum elargiri. Quanquam et a Moro magnum aliquid exspectat juventus, quod ille multum adhuc absit a senectute, et patrem habet non minorem annis octoginta mire virenti senectute, ut vix alium reperias qui bellius gestet ætatem; unde licet et Moro longævitatem ominari. &c

Ex rure Anderlacensi, Anno 1521 (Epist. 605.)

*Gulielmus Covrinus Nucerinus Philippo Montano, S. D.*

QUONIAM juxta Pythagoræ sententiam oportet omnia esse communia, recte collegit Euripides, et dolores inter amicos oportere communes esse. Accipies igitur, vir amicissime, ab amico minime læta, sed omni lacrymarum genere bonis omnibus deploranda: quanquam arbitror famam istuc jamdudum omnia pertulisse priusquam ad nos, de morte quorundam apud Anglos insignium virorum; sed præcipue Thomæ Mori, dum viveret ejus regni baronis inclyti, ac supremi judicis, quem illi cancellarium appellant. Qua dignitate non est apud eam gentem alia major, excepto rege; eoque quum prodit, aureum sceptrum imposita corona cæsarea gestatur ad unum latus, ad alterum liber. Quæ vero sum narraturus, partim e schedis Gallice scriptis, quæ hic circumferuntur, desumpsi, partim e rumoribus; nam nihil horum vidi. Sed priusquam aggrediar, paucis describam Londoniensis urbis situm.

Civitas in latum angusta, ad Thamysim flumen sic in longum porrecta est, ut videatur non posse desinere, unde et nomen videtur inditum; siquidem apud Flandros loca mari vicina *Dunen* appellant. Indidem dictum videtur Galliarum Lugdunum, quasi dicas *longas ripas*. Ad orientem in extremo habet arcem bene munitam, qua reges interdum utuntur, vulgus Turrim appellat. Sed in eadem servari solent viri nobiles, aut alias dignitate quapiam præminentes, qui videntur aliquid adversus regiam majestatem deliquisse. In altero extremo ad occasum insigne monasterium est Benedictinorum, vulgus appellat Westmonasterium: et huic proximum regis palatium structuræ veteris, sed quo nunc reges parum delectantur. Palatio adjuncta est domus spaciosissima, nullis fulta columnis, in qua sedent judices. Utrumque ædificium flumini imminet, ut hinc illinc cymba vehi possint.

In hac arce Thomas Morus posteaquam multis mensibus fuisset captivus, calend. Jul. ann. Dom. M.D.XXXV productus est ad modo dictam curiam, capitis causam dicturus apud tribunal judicum a rege delegatorum. Ibat reus baculo innixus tam longam viam, corpore gravi ægrotatione in carcere debili-

tato, nihil tamen perturbationis vultu præ se ferens. Primum recitati sunt articuli criminum quæ illi objiciebantur. Mox cancellarius qui Moro successit, ac dux Nortfolcii, hunc in modum reum appellarunt.

'En vides Magister More (sic appellant mediocri dignitate præditos) te graviter deliquisse in regiam majestatem. Attamen speramus te, si modo resipiscas, et abjures istam obstinatam opinionem, in qua hactenus tam procaciter perstitisti, veniam a regis clementia consequuturum.'

Ad hæc Morus——'Domini mei, ego summo cordis affectu ago vobis gratias pro ista vestra amica erga me voluntate: tantum illud oro Deum omnipotentem, confirmare dignetur me in hac qua nunc sum sententia, ut in ea perseverem usque ad mortem. Cæterum quum reputo quam prolixi quamque graves articuli sunt quibus oneror, vereor ne mihi nec ingenium suppetat, nec memoria, nec oratio quæ sufficiat ad respondendum omnibus; præsertim quum in carcere tam diu fuerim detentus, in quo gravi ægrotatione contraxi corporis debilitatem, quæ me nunc etiam habet.'

Tum jussu judicum allata est sella, in qua sederet. Ubi consedisset, prosequutus est institutum sermonem hunc in modum.

'Quod ad primum attinet articulum, qui conatur ostendere meam in regem malevolentiam in negotio posterioris matrimonii, confiteor ingenue, me semper restitisse illius serenissimæ majestati. 'Nec est animus super hoc negotio quicquam aliud dicere, quàm quod hactenus semper dixi, ad hoc urgente me conscientia: per quam ut non debebam, ita nec volebam principem meum celare veritatem. Nec hic est ulla proditio quæ intenditur; quin potius, ni id fecissem, præsertim in re tanti momenti, unde pendebat mea sententia, et principis honos, et regni tranquillitas, tum verè fuissem, quod nunc objicitur, malevolus, perfidus ac proditor. Ob hoc delictum (si modo delictum appellandum est) gravissimas dedi pœnas, exutus omnibus facultatibus meis, ac perpetuo addictus carceri, in quo menses jam quindecem totos fui detentus. Sed his omissis tantum ad ea respondebo quæ sunt hujus negotii præcipua. Quod objicitur, me incurrisse in pœnam violatæ constitutionis, quæ proximo con-

silio prodita est, me jam in carcere agente; quasi malitioso animo, perfidiose, ac proditorie regiæ majestati detraxerim famam, honorem ac dignitatem quæ illi per dictam constitutionem erat tributa, videlicet quod ibi declaratur sub Jesu Christo supremum caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: inprimis respondebo ad hoc quod mihi objicitur, quod Domino Secretario Regis ac venerabili majestatis illius consil ., rogatus quæ mea esset de hoc edicto sententia, nihil aliud voluerim respondere, quàm me jam mundo mortuum esse, nec istiusmodi negotiis amplius solicitari, sed tantum meditari in passione domini nostri Jesu Christi. Dico me per istam vestram constitutionem ob hoc silentium non posse damnari capitis, eo quod nec vestrum edictum, nec ullæ leges mundi possunt quenquam ob silentium addicere morti, sed tantum ob dictum aut perpetratum facinus. De occultis enim solus judicat Deus.'

Ad hæc respondit procurator regius interpellans: at tale silentium, inquit, evidens argumentum est animi malè sentientis de jam dicta constitutione. Nam omnis subditus sincerus ac fidelis regiæ majestati, si de dicta constitutione interrogetur, tenetur et obligatur citra omnem dissimulationem respondere categoricè: legium edictum esse bonum, justum ac sanctum.

Ad quæ Morus: 'Si verum est quod habetur in legibus, eum qui tacet videri consentire, meum silentium confirmavit potius vestram constitutionem quàm improbavit. Jam quod dicis, omnem subditum fidelem obligari ut respondeat categoricè si interrogetur, &c. respondeo, bonæ fidei subditum magis obligatum esse Deo, conscientiæ, et animæ suæ, quàm ulli alii rei in hoc mundo, maxime si talis conscientia, qualis est mea, nihil offendiculi, nihil seditionis pariat domino suo. Nam illud pro certo vobis affirmo, quòd nulli mortalium unquam detexerim hac in re conscientiam meam.

'Venio nunc ad secundum accusationis caput, quo arguor contra dictam constitutionem molitus ac machinatus fuisse, eo quod ad Roffensem scripserim octo paria epistolarum, quibus illum animarim adversus istud edictum. Equidem vehementer optarim epistolas hic proferri ac recitarri, quæ me vel convincerent vel liberarent. Cæterum quando illæ, quemadmodum prædicatis, per episcopum exustæ sunt, ipse non gravabor recitare sententiam earum. In earum quibusdam agebatur de nostris privatis negotiis, pro vetere nostra ami-

citia ac familiaritate. In una quadam continebatur responsum ad episcopi literas quibus scire cupiebat, quid et quo pacto respondissem de ista constitutione. Ad id nihil aliud rescripsi, nisi me jam meam composuisse conscientiam, ipse componeret suam. Animæ meæ periculo, ac teste Deo vobis assevero, nihil aliud in illis literis a me scriptum fuisse! Harum igitur caussa non possum per vestram constitutionem addici morti.

'Superest tertius articulus, qui intendit, quod quum de vestra constitutione examinarer, dixerim eam esse similem gladio utrinque secanti, propterea quòd si quis vellet eam servare, perderet animam; si contradicere, perderet corpus. Idem quoniam, ut dicitis, respondit episcopus Roffensis, perspicuum esse inter nos fuisse conspirationem. Ad hæc respondeo, me nunquam fuisse loquutum, nisi conditionaliter: sic videlicet, si tale esset edictum, qualis est gladius utrinque incidens, quo pacto posset quis evitare, quin in alterum incideret periculum. Hæc mea fuit oratio. Quomodo responderit episcopus, nescio: si illius oratio cum mea congruebat, id nequaquam accidit ex conspiratione, sed potius ex ingeniorum ac doctrinæ similitudine. Breviter: illud pro certo habetote, me nunquam quicquam malitiose fuisse loquutum adversus vestram constitutionem: at fieri potuit, ut ad benignam regis clementiam aliquid malitiose fuerit delatum.'

Post hæc vocati sunt per quendam ex ostiariis duodecim viri, juxta gentis illius consuetudinem, quibus traditi sunt articuli, ut super illis consultarent, ac post consultationem judicarent, ac pronunciarent, utrum Thomas Morus malitiose obstitisset prædictæ constitutioni regis, an non. Qui quum per horæ quartam partem secessissent, reversi sunt ad principes ac judices delegatos, ac pronunciarunt GUILTY, hoc est, dignus est morte. Ac mox per Dn. Cancellarium lata est sententia juxta tenorem novæ constitutionis.

His ita peractis Thomas Morus hunc in modum orsus est loqui: 'Age, quando sum condemnatus, quo jure Deus novit, ad exonerandam conscientiam volo liberius eloqui quod sentio de vestra constitutione. Primum illud dico, me septem annis intendisse animum studiumque meum in istam causam, verum hactenus in nullo doctorum ab ecclesia probatorum reperi scriptum, quod lai-

cus, aut ut vocant, secularis, possit aut debeat esse caput status spiritualis aut ecclesiastici.' Hic cancellarius interrumpens Mori sermonem, Domine More, inquit, itane tu vis haberi sapientior, meliorisque conscientiæ omnibus episcopis, tota nobilitate, toto denique regno? Ad quæ Morus: Domine, inquit, Cancellarie, pro uno episcopo quem habes tuæ opinionis, ego sanctos et orthodoxos viros habeo plures centum, mecum sentientes, et pro unico vestro concilio, quod tale sit Deus novit, pro me habeo omnia concilia generalia annis abhinc mille celebrata: et pro uno regno, habeo Franciam cæteraque orbis christiani regna omnia. Hic Dux Nortfolcii interpellans: Nunc More, inquit, perspicuè liquet tua malevolentia.

Ad quæ Morus: *My Lord*, (sic Angli compellant insigni dignitate præstantes) ut hoc loquar non incitat malevolentia, sed cogit necessitas ad exonerandam conscientiam meam, teste Deo, qui solus scrutatur corda hominum. Præterea dico et illud, constitutionem vestram esse perperam factam, eo quòd vos professi estis, et jurejurando vosmetipsos obstrinxistis, nihil unquam molituros adversus sanctam ecclesiam, quæ per universam ditionem christianam unica est, integra et individua, neque vos soli ullam habetis anctoritatem citra aliorum christianorum consensum condendi legem, aut instituendi concilium adversus unionem et concordiam christianitatis. Nec me fugit, quamobrem à vobis condemnatus sim, videlicet ob id, quod nunquam voluerim assentire in negotio novi matrimonii regis. Confido autem de divina bonitate ac misericordia, fore ut quemadmodum olim Paulus Stephanum persecutus est usque ad mortem, et tamen iidem nunc unanimes sunt in cœlo, ita nos qui nunc discordes sumus in hoc mundo, in futuro seculo pariter simus concordes, et perfecta charitate unanimes. Hac spe fretus precor Deum ut vos servet unà cum rege, eique dare dignetur bonos consultores!

His ita peractis, Thomas Morus reductus est in Turrim. Hic obiter accidit spectaculum ipsa condemnatione miserabilius. Margareta filiarum Mori natu maxima, mulier præter eximiam formæ venustatem cum summa dignitate conjunctam, judicio, ingenio, moribus et eruditione patris simillima, per mediam populi turbam, perque satellitum arma semet injecit, et ad parentem penetravit. Quum et mulier esset, et natura cumprimis verecunda, tamen et metum et pudorem omnem excusserat impotens animi dolor, cùm audisset patrem in

curiâ morti addictum esse. Hoc accidit priusquam Morus arcis portam ingrederetur. Ibi in carissimi parentis collum irruens, arctissimo complexu aliquandiu tenuit eum. Cæterùm ne verbum quidem interim potuit proloqui. Curæ, inquit tragicus, leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. Movit stipatores, tametsi duros, hoc spectaculum. Horum itaque permissu Morus his verbis consolatus est filiam : *Margareta, patienter feras, nec te discrucies amplius; sic est voluntas Dei; jampridem nosti secreta cordis mei :* simulque dedit osculum ex consuetudine gentis, si quem dimittunt. At illa cùm digressa esset ad decem vel duodecim passus, denuò recurrit, et amplexa parentem rursus inhæsit collo illius, sed elinguis præ doloris magnitudine. Cui pater nihil loquutus est, tantum erumpebant lacrymæ, vultu tamen à constantia nihil dimoto. Nec aliud supremis verbis mandavit, quàm ut Deum pro anima patris deprecaretur. Ad hoc pietatis certamen plurimis è populari turba lacrymæ excidere. Erant et inter satellites, ferum et immite genus hominum, qui lacrymas tenere non potuerunt. Nec mirum, quum pietatis affectus adeò valida res sit, ut immitissimas etiam feras moveat. Hic apud se quisque reputet quàm valido ariete tum pulsatum sit Thomæ Mori pectus. Erat enim erga suos omnes adeò φιλόστοργος, ut non alius magis : sed eam filiam ut erat eximiis prædita dotibus, ita diligebat impensius. Morum fortiter excepisse sententiam mortis, aut etiam carnificis securim, minus admirandum existimo, quàm pietatem erga suos potuisse vincere. Nihil enim addubito, quin hic doloris gladius crudelius vulneravit Mori præcordia, quàm illa carnificis securis, quæ collum amputavit.

Die Mercurii sequente, hoc est septimo die Julii, productus est in planiciem, quæ est ante arcem. Mos est illic ut afficiendi supplicio, de ponte plebem alloquantur. At Morus paucissimis verbis est usus, tantum orans qui aderant, ut pro ipso Deum orarent in hoc mundo, se vicissim in altero mundo precaturum pro ipsis. Mox hortabatur atque instanter rogabat, orarent Deum pro rege, ut illi dignaretur impertire bonum consilium, contestans se mori fidelem ac bonum regis ministrum, ac Dei inprimis. Hæc loquutus promptè constantique vultu flexis genibus cervicem posuit securim excepturus, non sine gravi multorum gemitu. Erat enim bonis omnibus carissimus.

Quæ hactenus narravi, ferè continebantur in scheda apud Parisios jactata,

ac per manus hominum volitante. Quisquis autem scripsit, videtur actis interfuisse. Quæ deinceps referam, partim ex amicorum literis, partim è rumoribus accepi. Paucis antè diebus, h. e. XV. Cal. Julias Joannes Fischerus, episcopus Roffensis, qui tum vitæ sanctimonia atque austeritate, tum administrandis sacramentis, tum assiduitate docendi voce simul et scriptis, denique mira liberalitate in egenos, benignitate in studiosos, verum agebat episcopum, ex arce dicta in qua captivus tenebatur, productus est, et ad curiam, quæ ut antè dixi, Westmonasterio proxima est, frequenti satellitum armatorum stipatu perductus est, partim navigio, partim equo, ob corpusculi debilitatem, quam præter ætatem auxerat carceris incommoditas; licet ipse valetudinem suam semper et jejuniis et vigiliis et studiis et laboribus ac lacrymis vehementer attenuasset. Ille verò tametsi non ignoraret ejus cognitionis exitum, nihil tamen perturbatus est, sed placido, ac propè etiam ad hilaritatem composito vultu ad tribunal evocantibus paruit. Ibi juxta morem ejus regionis quem antea descripsi, sententia capitali damnatus est, supplicium daturus, simulatque regi visum esset. Hoc adjectum suspicor, si fortè spe veniæ ac supplicii metu posset à sententia deduci. Mortis genus erat et fædum et horribile, quo tamen fuerant affecti Cartusiani aliquot, quos aiunt fuisse quindecim: quod ut credam vix possum adduci. Cartusianis adjunctus est Reginaldus monachus Brigittensis, vir angelico vultu et angelico spiritu, sanique judicii: quod ex illius colloquio comperi, quum in comitatu Cardinalis Campegii versarer in Anglia. Nam Cartusianorum novi neminem. Aiunt ex his quosdam fuisse per viam tractos, dein suspensos laqueo, ac spirantibus etiamnum exsecta intestina: quosdam etiam exustos igni, sed omnium incredibilem fuisse constantiam. Solet rumor rebus tristibus aliquid addere. At si hic verus est, videtur hoc esse consilium eorum qui regio obsecundant animo, ut immanitate suppliciorum cæteros absterreant. Nam facile divinabant, institutum plurimis improbatum iri, præsertim ecclesiasticis, et religionis studio deditis. Sed ad Roffensem episcopum redeo.

Is accepta tam horrendæ mortis sententia, quum satellitibus stipatus reduceretur in arcem, ut ad ostium ventum est, versus ad satellites hilari placidoque vultu, Plurimam, inquit, optimi viri, vobis habeo gratiam pro officio, quo me euntem et redeuntem deduxistis. Dixisses hominem ex hilari suavique redire convivio, adeò et color erat jucundior, et ipse toto corporis gestu, quatenus

per gravitatem licuit, lætitiam quandam præ se ferebat, ut nemini non esset perspicuum, sanctissimum virum, ceu jam portui vicinum, toto pectore ad illam beatam tranquillitatem aspirare. Nec diu dilata est mors. Ad decimum Cal. Julii productus in planiciem, quam Angli vulgò dicunt turris collem, vultu non solum constanti, verum etiam alacri, paucis alloquutus est populum. Primum regi regnoque bene precatus est. Mox ardenti magis quàm prolixa precatione seipsum Dei misericordiæ commendavit: simulque procumbens in genua, gracili et exhausta cervice securim excepit. Neque enim apud Anglos carnifices gladio cervicem incidunt, sed damnato in truncum ad id apparatum inclinanti, securi caput amputant. Quanto cum animi dolore viderint hoc spectaculum quibus religio pietasque cordi est, et qui Christi spiritum in pastore operantem experti fuerant, facile quivis ex sese poterit æstimare. Cæterum quòd mitiore pœna affectus est, quàm minabatur judicum sententia, sunt qui in causa fuisse putent, quod metuerint, ne senex et exhausto corpusculo, si per viam tam longam rheda traheave tractus fuisset, sponte expiraret. Ego suspicor, ob hoc mortis genus atrocius denuntiatum, ut immanitate supplicii territus mutaret sententiam. Nec desunt qui prædicant, ob hoc ipsum accéleratam mortem, quòd Romanus pontifex Paulus tertius episcopum Roffensem ob insignem doctrinam ac pietatem in cardinalium ordinem allegisset. Ex amicorum literis cognovi, in Germania inferiore sparsum rumorem, quum episcopi Roffensis caput esset in ponte Londoniensi de more expositum, non solum non emarcuisse, verum etiam magis effloruisse, vivoque factum similius, ut multi crederent fore, ut etiam loqui inciperet: quod in quibusdam martyribus factum legimus. Ea res, seu fama, quum vulgò increbuisset, sublatum est atque abditum. Populus enim credulus sæpe levi quapiam occasione turbas ingentes excitat. At veriti ne idem eveniret in capite Mori, priusquam exponeretur, aqua ferventi decoctum est, quo plus haberet horroris. Hæc aliaque multa his similia perscribuntur è Flandria Britannis viciniore: penes alios sit fides. Utinam huc pervenissent acta Roffensis, quemadmodum acta Mori pervenerunt. Ex Mori responsis facile liquet, illum destinasse mori citius, quàm suæ sententiæ canere palinodiam. Quo animo videntur omnes fuisse qui ante Morum extincti sunt.

Morum ac Roffensem et illud movit, opinor, quòd qui bene natos, lautè educatos, in honore habitos, in carcere detinet, non dat vitam, sed longiorem

et acerbiorem mortem. Ego si regi fuissem in consilio, pro mea stultitia conatus fuissem illi persuadere, ut pro sua solita clementia cæterisque virtutibus, per quas nomen ipsius hactenus erat apud omnes nationes gratiosum et amabile, ab illis Britanniæ luminibus, totique orbi notis abstineret, aut certè pœna mitiore contentus esset. Rursus, si qui perierunt me adhibuissent in consilium, suasissem, ne se irruenti procellæ palam opponerent. Violenta res ira regum, cui si incommodè resistas, graviores excitat tumultus. Equi feroces, quemadmodum et tonitrua, non vi sed popysmate leniuntur. Et nautæ non pugnant adversus impotentem tempestatem, sed vel quiete vel obliquis cursibus utentes expectant cœlum commodius. Multis rebus medetur tempus, quas nulla vi possis emendare. Res humanæ semper quidem fluctuant, sed quoties incidit insignis aut fatalis rerum mutatio, multi periclitantur qui non cedunt turbini. Veluti quum Julius Cæsar aperiret januam tyrannidi, et triumviri junctis copiis imperium orbis occuparent, laudatissimi quique viri perierunt, quorum erat et M. Tullius. Qui monarchis serviunt, iis quædam dissimulanda sunt, ut si non queant obtinere quod judicaverunt optimum, saltem aliqua ex parte moderentur principum affectus. Dixerit aliquis, pro veritate mortem oppetendam. At non pro quavis veritate. Si tyrannus jubeat, aut abjura Christum, aut pone cervicem : ponenda cervix. Sed aliud est silere, aliud abjurare. Si fas est te dissimulare christianum citra grave scandalum, multo magis licuisset hic esse tacitum.

Sed ineptè facio, qui de rebus tam arduis disputem, qui nunquam interfuerim monarcharum consiliis. Itaque de tota causa judicium aliis relinquo. Illud satis constat, eos viros si quid peccarint, nulla in regem malevolentia peccasse, sed simplici sinceraque conscientia errasse. Hoc sibi penitus persuaserant, hoc medullis infixum habebant, sanctum, pium, regi honorificum, regno salutare esse quod tuebantur. Argumento est, quod nullus illorum affectarit regnum, aut alteri asserere conatus sit, nec ullam molitus sit seditionem, aut ullas contraxerit copias, ac ne verbum quidem excidit odium conspirationemve resipiens. Silere cupiebant si licuisset, sed patienter ac placide mortem exceperunt, nihil aliud quam regi regnoque bene precantes. At in atrocibus etiam criminibus magnam culpæ partem excusat simplex ac pura conscientia, animusque non lædendi, sed bene merendi cupidus. Tum apud efferas etiam nationes frequenter eximiæ virtuti præstantique doctrinæ honos

est habitus. Platoni apud Aeginetas juxta civitatis constitutionem capite plectendo, profuit philosophi cognomen. Diogenes impunè penetravit in castra Philippi regis Macedonum, ad quem pro exploratore adductus, libere exprobravit regi insaniam, quod non contentus suo regno, semet conjiceret in periculum ne perderet omnia. Non impune tantum, sed etiam cum munere dimissus est, non ob aliud nisi quod esset philosophus. Quemadmodum monarcharum in eruditos benignitas plurimum honesti nominis illis conciliat, ita durius tractati plurimum invidiæ conflant illis. De his præcipuè loquor, qui scriptis inclaruerunt apud omnes nationes, et quorum memoria videtur apud posteros futura gratiosa. Quis nunc non execratur Antonium, qui Ciceronem ferro peremit? Quis non detestatur Neronem, qui Senecam occiderit? Nec minimum gratiæ decessit Octavii Cæsaris nomini, quod Ovidium ad Getas relegarit.

Hæc nequaquam eo mihi dicuntur, ut regem christianum cum impiis principibus conferam, aut de negotio cujus circumstantias non novi pronuntiem, quod etiamsi periculum abesset, temerarium esset: sed ut ostendam quibus rationibus fuerim conaturus persuadere, ut rex parcendo viris pietatis et eruditionis commendatione jam immortalitati consecratis, suo quoque nomini consuleret. Plausibilis semper est præpotentum clementia: sed tum clarissimos fert applausus, quoties viris illustribus ac de republica bene meritis impenditur. Omne solum forti patria est: et exilium fortibus ac præclaris viris sæpe cessit feliciter. Mortis invidia gravis est. Quum rex Galliarum Ludovicus XII, regnum adeptus pararet divortium cum Lodovici regis XI, filia, Maria, ni fallor, nomine, res displicuit quibusdam bonis; ex quibus Johannes Standoch, et hujus discipulus Thomas, in concione nihil aliud dixerant, nisi Deum orandum esse ut regi inspiraret bonum consilium. Quæ apud populum dicuntur, ad seditionem spectant: et hi deliquerant adversus regis edictum. Rex tamen nihil aliud quàm vertere solum jussit, nec quicquam ademit facultatum: at idem negotio quod agebat confecto, revocabat eos. Hac moderatione rex ille et suo consuluit instituto, et gravem invidiam evitavit, quod uterque esset theologus, uterque sanctitatis opinione commendatus.

At Thomæ Mori mortem deplorant et ii, quorum instituto pro viribus adversabatur; tantus erat hominis in omnes candor, tanta comitas, tantaque

benignitas. Quem ille vel mediocriter eruditum ab se dimisit indonatum? Aut quis fuit tam alienus, de quo non studuerit bene mereri? Multi non favent nisi suis, Galli Gallis, Germani Germanis, Scoti Scotis; at ille in Hibernos, in Germanos, in Gallos, in Scythas et Indos amico fuit animo. Hæc naturæ benignitas sic Morum omnium animis penitus infixit, ut non secus ac parentem aut fratrem plorent extinctum. Ipse vidi multorum lacrymas, qui nec viderant Morum, nec ullo officio ab eo fuerant affecti: ac mihi quoque dum hæc scribo, nolenti ac repugnanti lacrymæ prosiliunt. Quomodo nunc affectum credimus Erasmum nostrum, cui cum Moro tam arcta fuit amicitia, ut prorsus, juxta Pythagoram, in duobus eadem esse videretur anima? Equidem misere metuo, ne bonus ille senex suo Moro commoriatur, si tamen adhuc in vivis est. Sunt qui nos consolantur hoc argumento, quòd dicunt, non deplorandos esse, sed gratulandum potius iis, qui tali morte vitam finierunt. Est istud, fateor, non leve doloris lenimen: at ego Morum optarim incolumem, quum omnium studiosorum gratia, tum verò præcipuè familiæ causa, quam et numerosam et plane philosophicam reliquit: filium natu minimum jam maritum ac liberorum parentem, filias tres, et has nuptas ac liberorum matres, eruditas omnes, ac sub paterna disciplina ad christianam philosophiam pulchre institutas, uxorem fidelem, ac jam anum, ex qua tamen nullam prolem sustulit. Has omnes cum sponsis, nepotibus ac neptibus in unis ædibus alebat, tanta religione, tantaque concordia, quantam non temere reperias in collegiis monachorum ac virginum. Hic mihi cogita, vir optime, qui luctus, quæ lacrymæ, qui gemitus, qui dolores totam illam familiam conficiant. Quot egregias animas vulneravit illa securis, quæ Mori caput amputavit? multi demirantes rogant, quid tanti sceleris commiserit vir semper habitus innocentissimis moribus? Quibus vix habeo quod pro comperto respondeam, nisi quod partim conjicere licet ex articulis Moro objectis et illius responsione, partim ex amicorum literis ac fama vulgata discere datur.

Rex, ut omnibus notissimum est, aliquot annis moliebatur repudium cum regina Caroli Cæsaris matertera, Morus præsagiens quo res esset evasura, ultro deposuit cancellarii munus, alia quædam causatus, ne cogeretur ejus negotii exequutor esse, quod apud sese non probabat. Erat enim mentis tam religiosæ, ut propior esset superstitioni quam impietati. Sic cogitabat; privato licebit quiescere: cancellario, qui os est regis, non licebit. Videbat fore, ut cogere-

tur multos condemnare morte, quos judicabat optimos: ad hæc exitum tanti negotii incertum esse, ob ecclesiasticorum potentiam ac gentis illius solitam in reges ferociam. Tale si quid natum fuisset, prima victima fuisset cancellarius. At me si Morus in consilium adhibuisset, quum esset tam anxiè religiosa conscientia, dehortatus fuissem eum ne susciperet dignitatem. Vix enim fieri potest, ut qui in arduis principum functionibus versantur, in magnis pariter ac parvis justitiam ad unguem observent. Proinde mihi gratulantibus quod talem haberem amicum in tanto rerum fastigio collocatum, respondere soleo, me non prius illi de ejus dignitatis accessione gratulaturum quàm juberet ipse. Jam tum enim nescio quid sinistri præsagiebat animus. Nec regem arbitror latuisse, quam ob causam Morus deponeret magistratum, utcunque dissimulavit: quod Homerus indicat, monarchis esse proprium, offensionem in animo tegere, donec multo post tempore detur ulciscendi opportunitas.

Interim rex minis ac fulminibus Clementis VII factus irritatior, adjecit animum ad vetus illius regionis exemplum, ut regnum a jure pontificis Romani assereret, et utriusque status supremam potestatem sibi vindicaret. Cæterum quum sentiret, plurimorum animos ab hoc instituto abhorere, ne qua cooriretur seditio, promulgatum est edictum, ut quicunque non abjuraret Romani pontificis autoritatem, aut improbaret novum matrimonium, capitalis esset. Verum hoc edictum non est promulgatum, nisi Roffense et Moro jam ductis in custodiam. Roffensis semper plurimum tribuit sedi Romanæ, et adversus repudium libris etiam conscriptis pugnarat, sed tum quum adhuc integrum esset consulere. Morus scripsit nihil, sed pro officio quod gerebat, conabatur regis animum in eam inflectere sententiam, quam putabat et Deo gratam, et regi tutam, et regno salutarem.

Erat illi magna familiaritas cum episcopo Roffense; tum prædium quod habebat Morus non procul aberat a Richemonda. Ibi regio palatio vicina sunt duo monasteria vehementer opulenta, et quod majus est, bonæ disciplinæ, alterum Cartusianorum, alterum Brigittensium. Ab his facile crediderim sollicitatum Mori animum, ut ecclesiæ causam tueretur: at ipsum aliquid effutisse quod rebellionem saperet, nunquam sum creditурus, ut qui ex crebris colloquiis perspexerim admirabilem quandam hominis cautionem. Ecquidem vix alium

Anglum comperi, qui tam medullitus amarit principem suum, aut magis ex animo bene vellet, quam ille.

Unde igitur hic tumultus? Violenta res est, conscientia magis metuens Deum offendere, quam mortem oppetere. Forte fefellit eum persuasio. At demiror si vir ille levibus argumentis adductus est, ut sic obfirmaret animum. Maluit ipse perpeti, quam in alios facere, quod necesse fuisset, si in suscepto munere perseverasset. Quin et reginæ veteris, singulari pietate fœminæ multos miseret, non tantum ob id, quod dudum tanta dignitate florens, nunc in eum statum redacta est, ut ob divortium nec eo frui possit quicum tam diu vixit, nec alteri nubere ob Clementis sententiam: verum etiam quod videt, non dubium quin cum summo animi dolore, ipsius causa tales viros trucidari. Hujus porro tragœdiæ quis sit futurus exitus, Deus novit. Illud in confesso est, per necem beati Thomæ Acrensis, plurimum et auctoritatis et opum accessisse statui ecclesiastico apud Anglos. Qui res mortalium suo imperscrutabili consilio moderatur, pro sua bonitate dignabitur hæc omnia vertere in suam gloriam. Tantum e scheda, rumoribus et amicorum literis, hactenus licuit cognoscere: si compertiora fuero nactus, tibi communicabo. Tu fac vicissim ut per te sciamus quid agat rex Sion cum suis prophetis, populoque retincto, de quibus hic mira feruntur, an vera nescio. Apud Lutetiam Parisiorum X. Cal. Augusti Ann. M.D.XXXV.

# CLARORUM ET DOCTORUM VIRORUM VARIA EPIGRAMMATA IN LAUDEM THOMÆ MORI.

## MORI VIRTUTES DESCRIPTÆ PER T. STAPLETONUM.

Est virtutis amans, cui nulla scientia cordi est:
Sunt literis clari, quos virtus non tamen ornat:
Est qui utrumque tenet, tractare at publica nescit
Munera; sunt hæc qui feliciter omnia possunt.
Sed quibus infauste res tota domestica currit:
Invenias alium, cui sint hæc omnia, at idem est
Moribus insuavis, severus, durus, agrestis:
Hic sectatur opes, alius conquirit honores,
Et maculat multas hoc uno crimine laudes:
Et qui hæc cuncta tenet, vitio quoque purus ab omni,
Sed moriens latet, atque obscura morte quiescit.
Unus erat Morus, nulli (1) pietate secundus,
Ingenio, (2) literis clarus; qui (3) munerâ gessit
Maxima: qui (4) contemtor opum, (5) contemtor hónorum,
(6) Familiam et proles rara virtute gubernat.
(7) Candidus et suavis, regi populoque jucundus.
(8) Martyrio illustris concludit cuncta beatus.
Virtutum fuit hæc encyclopædia Mori.

## VARIA EJUS ERUDITIO: PER EUNDEM.

Vis scire in literis, quis, et quid esset
Thomas ille Morus, decus suorum?

Orator fuit elegans, disertus :
Festivus fuit et poeta suavis.
Non Græcum secus ac Latina callens.
Nec callet modo ; sed tuetur illa,
Linguarum haud secus advocatus acer,
Quam legum fuerat Britannicarum.
Scribendæ historiæ artifex peritus.
Res gestæ satis hoc docent Richardi
Anglorum gravis et feri tyranni.
Quantus philosophus, docere possunt
Leges Utopiæ recens repertæ.
In sacris literis, patrumque libris
Quid Morus valuit, probant labores,
Quos contra hereticos domi forisque
Scribendo tulit : hos libris Latinis
(Sunt testes Pomeranus et Lutherus)
Illos vernaculis pie refutans.
Ingens è quibus edidit volumen,
Anglis fructiferum ; elegans volumen.
Nec vult dogmatibus vocare solis ;
Sed per quos pietas, salusque mentis
Augmentum capiat, dedit libellos :
Angli quos avide legunt libellos,
Nec quicquam utilius legi fatentur.
Qui pro dogmatibus legenda scripsit
Dat pro dogmatibus caput securi.
Hic major calamus, liberque major :
Hunc, hunc posteritas librum revolvat.

## NOMINIS AITIOAOΓIA : PER EUNDEM.

More, nec es Maurus, quod vox sonat Anglica Mori,
Nec fatuus, quod vox attica, μωρὸς, habet.
Scilicet infausti correxit nominis omen
Et vigor et candor maximus ingenii.

## DE REGE HENRICO VIII, ROFFENSI ET MORO: EJUSDEM

Cur bonus in prima florens, Henrice, juventa,
Impius in tenebris ultima fata trahis?
Nempe quia extinxti duo maxima lumina regni:
Roffensis Phœbus, Cynthia Morus erat.
Præfuit ille sacris; terrennis præfuit iste.
Extinctis pereunt sacra, profana simul.

## JANI VITALIS, ITALI.

Dum Morus immeritæ submittit colla securi,
Et flent occasum pignora cara suum;
Imo ait, infandi vitam deflete tyranni:
Non moritur, facinus qui grave morte fugit.

## JOHANNIS SECUNDI, HAGIENSIS.

Quis jacet hic truncus? cujus caput ense recisum est
Quæ natat in tetro sanguine canicies?
Hic est ille Thomas Morus. Sic facta rependunt
Tristia multa bonis, et bona multa malis.
Quæ circumsistunt divæ lugubre cadaver?
Diva tenax veri: sancta fides: Nemesis.
Quarum prima fuit causa et fuit altera mortis;
Ultrix injustæ tertia cædis erit.

## ALIUD, EJUSDEM.

State viri. Forte hos cineres novisse juvabit.
Hunc tumulum Morus colla resectus habet.
Ille decus regni quondam et nunc dedecus Angli
Quod tulerat talem, quod modo sustulerit

Illi ut salva foret pietas, pridem aula relicta est.
Salvo ut perderet vita relicta modo est.
Fide Thoma. Quantam nolles, vindicta paratur.
Regalesque tuis manibus inferiæ.

## ALIUD, EJUSDEM.

Ad Styga cum Mori venisset flebilis umbra,
Pallidulum largo sparsa cruore caput;
Portitor ingemuit, trux Cerberus ora repressit,
Persephone falsis immaduit lacrymis.
Et, quem rex letho infami damnarat adulter,
Absolvit Stygii judicis urna reum.
Illum rex Erebi, pro constanti probitate,
Addidit infernis judicibus socium:
Cædis ut authorem; fuerit cum morte peremptus,
Addicat diris suppliciis meritum.
Virentem interea infestet torva umbra tyrannum
Semper, et ante oculos sanguinolenta volet.
Et vos Eumenides sparsis per colla colubris,
Illius ultrices tendite in ora faces.

## EJUSDEM SECUNDI NÆNIA, IN MORTEM THOMÆ MORI.

Extinctum flemus crudeli funere Morum
Et regem immanem, veneremque cruore madentem,
Fortunæque vices, et læsæ pellicis iram.
Vos mihi pierides feralia carmina musæ
Dictate, et mecum vatem lugete peremtum,
Insignem cythara; qui vos persæpe solebat
Vertice ab Aonio molli deducere versu.
Tuque adeo mihi, Calliope, quæ regia facta,
Et casus miserorum hominum cantare perita es,
Nec cædes exhorrescis memorare cruentas.

Dextera adés. Tu vero erato, tu blanda Thalia,
Truncatum interea tumulo componite corpus,
Exequias celebrate, aspergite floribus urnam,
Et tumulo castos aspiret laurus odores,
Sacrum laurigeri vatis complexa sepulchrum.

Te quoque deflerem divûm venerande sacerdos,
Roffensis præsul populi, qui dura subisti
Fata prior, sancta pro relligione tuenda :
Sed vatem canimus vates ; tua maxima facta
Vulgabunt alii, et præclara volumina condent,
Atfollentque tuum super aurea sidera nomen.

Tempus erat, mundi cum jam adventante ruina,
Occideret senio justum, et labefacta deorum
Relligio caderet, tot sustentata per annos.
Mortalesque fidem tota de mente fugassent ;
At dolus, et fastus, cumque impietate libido.
Ambitioque, et livor edax, fulvi et sitis auri,
Grassantes late, qua sol sublimis utrumque
Aspicit oceanum, geminas quaque aspicit arctos,
Miscebantque profana sacris, et sacra profanis.
Tum furiæ ex imis erebi emersere tenebris,
Sanguineas capitum quatientes undique cristas,
Armatæ facibus, phlegetonteoque veneno.
Nec mora, cœruleos subito petiere Britannos,
Fatorum gnaræ, tempus namque adfore norant,
Cum rex Henricus despreto conjugis usu,
In vetitos rueret thalamos famosus adulter,
Atque alias tædas, alios celebrans Hymenæos,
Mentis inops, regni indotatam in parte locaret,
Vilem animam, et nullo majorum stemmate fultam :
At regina prior, thalamis ejecta maritis,
Ingratum in lachrymis et luctu duceret ævum ;
Illa quidem magni de sanguine Ferdinandi,

Primus qui Mauros regnis exegit avitis,
Quo nunquam Hesperia regnasset major in ora,
Ni sua progenies majori numine, Cæsar,
Mundi sceptra tenens, titulos superasset avorum.

At postquam diræ subierunt regia tecta
Eumenides, tremuit tellus, sic conscius æther
Horruit, Oceanus pater, et circumflua Tethys
Imis delituere vadis. Rex ipse, maritus
Jam novus, inprimis et adhuc complexibus hærens,
Extimuit facti pœnas, iramque deorum.
Illæ autem ut videre novos celebrari Hymenæos,
Gaudebant pariter Diræ, pariterque dolebant:
Crimine gaudebant, sed non authoribus ipsis.
Patratum doluere nefas, nimiumque potentem
Et venerem, et volucris tela indignantur Amoris.
Ergo aliud meditantur opus, dirumque frementes,
Pellicis insinuant atrum in præcordia virus,
Et stolido regi eripiunt mentemque animumque.

Ille scelus firmare suum majoribus ausis
Enitens, sceleri scelus adjicit, et contemptis
Pontificis summi monitis, (quibus ille jubebat,
Ejiceret mœcham, thalamique in jura vocaret
Legitimam uxorem, solitoque ornaret honore)
Ipse sibi jus pontificis, nomenque sacratum,
Quam late sua regna patent, usurpat, et omnem
Sacrilegus veterem convellit relligionem;
Et gravius peccat, ut non peccasse putetur.

Egregia interea pellex quæ gaudia sentit?
In quorum jugulos miserum non armat amantem?
Præcipue, si quos probitas suspecta, et honesti
Prodit amor; More infelix, sic te tua virtus

Perdidit? ô ævi scelus atque infamia nostri
Tu regni decus, et regi carissimus idem
Consultor fueras, nec judex æquior alter
Jura dabat, qua pensant heu mercede laborem
Fata tibi? poteras illæsam ducere vitam,
Sed minus esse probus. Vitæ quam dura relicta
Conditio fuit insonti? si vera professus,
Fatalem exciperet cana cervice securim:
Sin vitam falsa vellet ratione tueri,
Applaudens stupris, infandæque ambitioni,
Pollueret moresque suos, vitamque priorem,
Offensamque hominis, mutaret numinis ira.

Ille autem justique tenax, cultorque deorum,
Sponte sua ferro caput obtulit, et procumbens
Purpureum sacro fudit de pectore rivum.

Fortunate senex animi, tibi regia cœli
Tota patet, tibi rex superûm victricia serta
Porrigit ipse manu, magno applaudente senatu
Cœlicolûm, et volucres recinunt pœana ministri,
Omnes intonsi, niveis in vestibus omnes;
Quales ad vitreum mœandri flumen olores
Mille volant, plauduntque alis, et dulce canentes
Cæruleum nitidis prætexunt æthera pennis.

Quis tibi tum sensus, mœstissima Margaretta,
Nata patris miseri? quanto tua lumina fletu
Undabant! quantos, eheu, de pectore anhelo
Ducebas gemitus, corpus cum flebile patris
Exanimum aspiceres indigna cæde peremti?
Nam te credibile est, quanquam patris inclyta facta
Æternam tibi conciliant famamque decusque,
Non potuisse oculos compescere tempore in illo,

Quin durum fleres casum, patrisque cruorem
Ablueres lacrymis, et circumfusa cadaver
Oscula pallidulo ferres moribunda parenti.
Tu tamen has aufer tenero de pectore curas,
Nec lacrymis corrumpe tuos, pulcherrima, vultus.
Sic te Phœbus amet, sic, ô doctissima virgo,
Adjiciat numero te Calliopeia sororum.

Interea truncum jacet et sine nomine corpus,
Spectaculum populo dirum : at polluta cruore
Canicies, ne quid sceleris restaret inausum,
Neu tantos ætas nesciret sera furores,
Præfixa infami spectanda exponitur hasta :
Deformata tamen primum ferventibus undis,
Duceret informes donec cutis aspera rugas,
Labraque in horrendos traherentur lurida rictus :
Ne, quod Roffensi acciderat, suffusa rubore
Mortua vitalem præferrent ora calorem :
Turbarentque pium rursus miracula vulgus.

Hocne tuæ veneri, rex ô inceste, tropæum
Erigis ? et mollem placari sanguine divam
Posse putas ? iras in te convertet acerbas
Ipsa Venus, vindexque tuos subvertet amores :
Atque aliis iterum, atque aliis tua pectora flammis
Uret, ut infamis veniant tibi tædia vitæ.
Tunc, memor indignæ cædis, tua noxia facta
Flebis, et invisa sumes de pellice pœnas.

Pellæus juvenis furiis agitatus, et ira
Incandens, multoque animum inflammatus Iaccho,
Dilectum ante alios inter convivia Clitum
Transfodit ferro, et resparsit sanguine mensas :
At postquam furor ille animi discussus, et omnis
Consumptus vini vapor est, mentemque recepit,

Ipse manus inferre sibi, sociumque per umbras
Velle sequi, et miseros incassum fundere questus.
Tresque adeo mœstus soles, totidem quoque noctes
Exegit lacrymans, luctu confusus acerbo
Ne quicquam ; neque enim luctu revocantur acerbo
Pallentes animæ, quas per vada languida vexit
Portitor, atque avido trajectos tradidit orco.
Tu quoque dilectum frustra plorabis amicum,
Cum tibi discusso mens pura redibit amore.
Interea horrifica rumpet tua somnia forma
Umbra viri, multoque caput fœdata cruore,
Quo te cunque feres dira occursabit imago,
Supplicium sævis exposcens horrida factis.
Namque tuis donec regnis exutus, et exul,
Extremam implorabis opem rerum omnium egenus,
Morus inultus erit. Nulla est violentia longa ;
O indictæque moram pœna graviore rependunt
Numina, justitiam quorum haud effugerit ullus.

At nos æternum tua tristia funera, More,
Insolabiliter deflebimus ; ô bone vates,
Tu mortem sancta pro relligione subisti
Crudelem. Tibi divinos pro talibus ausis
Mortales debent cultus, tibi templa, tibi aras.
Æternum, venerande senex, salveque, valeque,
Seu colis Elysium, seu cœli lucida templa ;
Accipe et hunc nostrum non dura fronte laborem.

## JACOBI EXERICHI. HISPANI.

Henricus Morum gladio jugulavit iniquo ;
Tam dignum vita, quam fuit ipse nece.
Mortuus ille tamen vivet per secula cuncta,
Post mortem virtus vivere sola facit.

## JACOBI LATOMI, BELGÆ.

Quid tibi cum Moro, tali indignissima cive
Anglia? quid pergis dicere inepta tuum?
Tu ferro insontem, nec simplice morte, Catonem
Persequeris: tuto nec licet esse pium.
Proinde sile. Nam quo maculam tibi demeret istam,
Ipse sibi patriam condidit Utopiam.

## GENTIANI HERVETI, AURELIANENSIS.

Quod capiti quondam Ciceronis rostra fuere,
Hoc est pons capiti, More diserte, tuo.
Ducentes Angli suspiria pectore dicunt:
Doctior et melior nullus in orbe fuit.

## JO. VULTEI, RHEMENSIS. EX LIB. II. EPIGRAMMATUM.

Hic situs est Thomas Morus, tuus, Anglia, vates,
Turba Poetarum quem cecidisse gemit.
Dum regum docte metuendos admonet enses,
Illum carnificis rex jubet ense mori.
Illum amor et charites deflent, deflentque Camœnæ:
Nec damnum credit, qui sapit, esse leve.
Gallia quid possit, testisque Britannia; testis
Italia, et semper Græcia testis erit.

## MAXIMILIANI WIGNACURTII, ATREBATIS.

Quæ fuit integritas, quæ vis, quæ copia fandi,
Quæ mens, More, tibi, sat tua scripta docent.
Qui Christi fuerit transfixum pectus amore,
Tradita testantur sat tua membra neci.

Scilicet ut miris vixisti dotibus auctus,
Te decuit miro pectore, More, mori.
Vita tibi fuerat felix; felicior at mors,
Æterno vitam munere quæ peperit.
Ordo tuus per te micat uno lumine: sed sunt
Instar multorum lumina multa virûm.

## JOANNIS WHITE, EPISC. VINTONIENSIS, IN DIACOSIO MARTYRION.

Quin etiam partes vulgato codice nostras
Propugnat scriptor maximus Utopiæ.
Fessus ad authoris melius te scripta remitto;
Rarus in orbe liber; nec tamen Utopiæ est.
Illius similes, imo multo meliores
Invenies libros, lector; at Utopiæ.
Et Mori similes, imo multo meliores
Scriptores videas, lector; at Utopiæ.

## ALANI COPI, LONDINENSIS.

Quis vivente velit Thoma non vivere Moro?
Quis Moro nolit sic moriente mori?

## ALIUD, EJUSDEM.

Mortuus an Morus, qui sic in mortis agone
Vixerat, ut mors sit victa coacta mori?
Imo piis morum meritis nunc vivit et orbi.
Et pura mentis relligione Deo.

## JOANNIS FOULERI, BRISTOLIENSIS, IN MORI EFFIGIEM.

Effigiem quamcunque tui sic fingimus; at non
Tam facile est mores fingere, More, tuos.

Quam vellem pictor mihi tam perfectus adesset,
Pingere qui vere posset utramque simul.
Tum quoque qui vitam totam moresque referret,
Ille magis multo doctus Appelle foret.

## HENRICI HOLLANDI, VIGORNIENSIS

Ergo quid ? ad nostros siculi venere tyranni ?
An terris nostris Africa monstra dedit ?
Num furit hic Gotthus, dum Symmachus atque Joannes
Amittunt carum morte furente caput !
Dum jacet Albinus, dumque urbe Boëtius alma
Expulsus Ticini tristia fata gemit ?
Sævit Alexander Magnus ? Clitumque fidelem
Enecat ? et vitam Parmenionis habet ?
An Nero sanguineus nostris dominatur in oris,
At que tibi vitam, Senneca docte, rapit ?
Hoc facit Henricus quod tunc Nero pessimus egit,
Dum te, More, necat, dum tua colla secat.
Senneca morte perit, quia vult Nero ; tu quoque More,
Dum vult Henricus, spicula mortis habes.
Arbitrium pro lege fuit, quod Senneca luxit ;
Arbitrium, quod te, More, perire facit.
Ut non est mirum, si sic Nero tollat amicum,
Qui matrem fato sustulit ante suam ;
Sic non est mirum, si rex te, More, necaret,
Qui ferus in matrem sæviit ante suam.
Non mirum est, aliis si vipera sæva noceret,
Cum propriæ matri vipera sæva nocet.
Henrici mater sancta est ecclesia Christi,
Hanc prius afflixit, quam tibi, More, nocet.
Et quia communem nolles pessundare matrem,
Fata sub immiti rege cruenta subis.
Quod genus hoc monstri ? cur sic rex barbare, frendis ?
An, quia vult matri parcere, Morus obit ?

Non licet ingenuis natis defendere matrem ?
An scelus est veram non violare fidem ?
Scilicet Henrico placuit proportio prava :
Non parcit membro, dum premit ille caput.
Qui graviora patrat, non ille minora timebit,
Et scelus audaces ad mala plura facit.
Culpa trahit culpam : comitatur abyssus abyssum :
Pœna est peccati pessima culpa sequens.
Cum rex legitimæ fecit divortia sponsæ,
Venit et ad thalamos Anna Bolena suos ;
Cum rex Volsæum rerum de cardine movit,
Fecit et afflicta sorte perire virum ;
Cum rex schisma novum deformi crimine fecit
Sedis apostolicæ debita jura negans ;
Cum rex pontificem præscripsit, jusque papale,
Non passus libros nomen habere papæ ;
Cum rex in sacris voluit caput esse supremum,
Assumsitque sibi pontificale decus ;
Cum rex lege nova sacratas diruit ædes,
Solvit et è claustris quos pia vota ligant ;
Cum rex divorum spolians opulenta sepulchra,
Lusit imaginibus, diva Maria, tuis ;
Cum rex damnavit clerum de crimine falso,
Presbyteros mulctans pontificesque suos ;
Cum rex omne malum fecit : tunc, More, necaris :
Horrebas oculis tanta videre mala.
Virtus sic Moro placuit, quod vivere nollet,
Si non virtuti vivere posse detur.
Dum pietas floret, floret quoque Morus ; at illa
Quam primum cœpit spreta jacere, jacet.
Rex pius in summis hunc pro pietate locavit,
Impius afflictum pro pietate necat.
Moro vita fides. Nam dum manet illa, manebat,
Stante fide stabat : qua pereunte perit.
Vita sibi pietas : pietate cadente cadebat,

Quam pius est Morus pro pietate cadens!
O rex debueras insigni parcere Moro,
Rara avis est Morus sic super astra volans.
O rex si multos homines tua sceptra regebant,
At multos Moros non tua sceptra regunt.
Millibus è multis vix Morus cernitur unus,
Tam doctus, prudens, tam bonus atque pius.
Quanta labe tuum regnum populumque notasti,
Quum ferit insontem barbara plaga Morum?
Quis tibi persuasit tam clarum tollere fidus,
Quæ mens, quæ ratio, consiliumque fuit?
Quæ tua relligio parili sic jure necare
Igne Lutheranos, Catholicosque cruce?
Hoc liber ille tuus promiserat ante Leoni?
Hoc titulus, regno quem dedit ille tuo?
Defendisne fidem veros tollendo fideles?
Custodem legum legibus ipse necas?
Justitiamne colis justos feriendo securi?
Judiciumne facis judicis ora premens?
Consilium curas, et consiliarius iste,
Maximus absque ullo crimine morte perit?
Incidis nervos, ut corpus fortius esset?
Extinguis lumen, clarius ut videas?
Ut sit perfectum, scindis de corpore membrum?
Evulsis oculis cernere frontem cupis?
Ecquis arare solet terram non usus aratro?
Aut sulcare ferum, sed sine nave, fretum?
Et tamen ista facis, dum Morum funere tollis,
Quem nullus sana tollere mente velit.
Sed frustra asperas tenebras offundere Moro.
Morus ubique volat docta per ora virûm.
Fortior Henrico Stapletonus: penna securi:
Illa mori fecit; vivere penna facit.

## ALIUD, EJUSDEM.

Quæris, Aristides cur pulsus ab urbe fugatu.
Altera non causa est, quam quia justus erat.
Quæris, cur Socrates truculenta venena bibebat?
Id fuit in causa, vir fuit ille bonus.
Quæris, cur magnus fuit ille Boëtius exul?
Nempe quod ille bonus, veriloquusque fuit.
Quæris, cur Morus submittit colla securi?
In promtu ratio est: optimus ille fuit.

## ALIUD, EJUSDEM.

Quando tuam mortem recolo, celeberrime More,
Tunc venit in mentem Tullius ille meam.
Ille fori lumen, facundo clarus ab ore;
Tuque fori lumen, tuque disertus eras.
Ille pater patriæ, patrum decus atque senatus;
Tuque pater patriæ, tuque corona patrum.
Dum furit Antonius, fatis occiditur ille;
Dum furit Henricus, tu quoque fata subis.
Dum cadit ille, sua cum lingua Fulvia ludit;
Dum cadis ipse, tua morte Bolena canit.
Dum perit ille, caput rostris affigitur illis,
In quibus hic casus dixerat ante suos;
Dum peris ipse, tui capitis damnaris in aula,
In qua pro regno dicere jura soles.
In multis ambo similes, par laus manet ambos;
Dispar at in multis gloria, dispar honor.
Dicitur ut Cicero Romanos vincere scripto,
Morus sic Anglos puriloquente stylo.
Plurima scribebat Cicero, sic plurima Morus,
Plura tamen Mori quam Ciceronis erant.

In multis vicit Ciceronem Morus: in ipso
Vicit subjecto materiaque libri.
Vicit in ingenio: qūis par in acumine, Moro?
Vicit doctrina, judicioque gravi.
Vicit honore loci; nam cancellarius iste
Uno anni unius consule major erat.
Vicit in ardenti veræ pietatis amore:
Vicit et in mortis nobilitate suæ.
Morus erat vates festivo carmine ludens,
Insignique potens arte poeta fuit.
Morus erat jurisprudens, vix major in orbe:
Philosophus summus, si quis in orbe fuit.
Morus erat custos legum, princepsque senatus,
Supremus judex, consiliique caput.
Nec latuit Morum divini pagina verbi;
Sic ferit hæreticos: sic tegit ille fidem:
Morus erat speculum vitæ, fideique patronus,
Insignis; martyr denique Morus erat.
Tindallus, Trithus, Barnesius atque Lutherus
A Mori calamo vulnera magna ferunt.
Non sat habet scriptis tales confundere pestes,
Sed pia confirmant sanguine scripta suo.
Plura quid hic dicam? vix hæc bene singula dixi,
Vincor ab ingenio, More diserte, tuo.
Londinense decus, decus Oxoniense fuisti:
Urbs fuit illa parens, ista magistra fuit.
Tu decus Angligenûm, regalis tu decus aulæ,
Tu decus Europæ, tu decus orbis eras.
Tu monstrum ingenii: miracula sunt tua dicta,
Deliciæ juvenum, deliciæque senum:
Obruor ingenti magnarum pondere rerum:
Laus Mori nostro carmine major erit.
Qui minor est Moro, non novit pingere Morum:
Hoc si quis poterit, tu Stapletone, facis.

## T. STAPLETONI EPIGRAMMA AD EFFIGIEM MORI.

Talis erat Morus quum causas dixit in urbe:
Talis quum populi jura tuetur, erat:
Talis erat pleno quum fecit verba senatu,
Orator populi lingua decusque sui.
Talis erat ludens epigrammata, seria scribens,
Talis quum doctam scriberet Utopiam.
Talis in hæreticos quum docta volumina format,
Dum sacra defendit dogmata, talis erat.
Talis erat Gallis et Belgis fœdera pangens,
Legati fungens munere talis erat.
Talis erat torquatus eques, prudensque senator,
Pertractans regni scrinia, talis erat.
Talis erat tibi quum factus Lancastria judex
Ducatus tenuit jura suprema tui.
Quum cancellarius Britannica sceptra teneret,
Primo post regem munere, talis erat.
Talis erat Morus, quum tetro carcere clausus
Dogmate pro sacro vincula longa tulit.
Talis erat diræ submittens colla securi.
At nunc non talem regna beata vident.

## N. GRUDII EPIGRAMMA.

MORUS LOQUITUR.

Ne lugete meo confusæ funere natæ;
Ipse ego mutari non mea fata velim.
Truncum terra teget, si rex non abnuat urnam;
Et mea jam terris nomina nota volant.
Libera mens superos repetet, neque serviet unquam,
In partem hanc quod agat nulla securis habet.

Tu quoque spectator, tranquillum si cupis ævum
Exigere, et letho fortior esse tuo,
Qui tibi membra cadant nullo in discrimine pone;
Quum sint naturæ lege caduca suæ.

## J. PALUDANI RHETORIS LOVANIENSIS IN INSULAM UTOPIANAM EPIGRAMMA.

Fortes Roma dedit, dedit et laudata disertos
Græcia, frugales inclyta Sparta dedit;
Massilia integros dedit, at Germania duros,
Comes ac lepidos Attica terra dedit:
Gallia clara pios, quondam dedit Africa cautos,
Munificos olim terra Britanna dedit:
Virtutum ex aliis aliarum exempla petuntur
Gentibus, et quod huic desit huic superat.
Una semel totam summam totius honesti
Insula terrigenis Utopiana dedit.

## GERARDI NOVIOMAGI EPIGRAMMA.

Dulcia, lector, amas? sunt hic dulcissima quæque
Utile si queris, nil legis utilius.
Sive utrumque voles, utroque hæc insula abundat,
Quo linguam exornes, quo doceas animum.
Hic fontes aperit, recti pravique disertus
Morus, Londini gloria prima suæ.

## CORN. GRAPHÆUS AD LECTOREM.

Vis nova monstra, novo dudum nunc orbe reperto?
Vivendi varia vis ratione modos?

Vis qui virtutum fontes? vis unde malorum
Principia? et quantum in rebus inane latet?
Hæc lege, quæ vario Morus dedit ille colore,
Morus, Londinæ nobilitatis honos.

## HEXASTICHON ANEMOLII POETÆ LAUREATI, HYTHLODÆI EX SORORE NEPOTIS, IN INSULAM UTOPIANAM.

Utopia priscis dicta, ob infrequentiam,
Nunc civitatis æmula Platonicæ,
Fortasse victrix, (nam quod illa litteris
Delineavit, hoc ego una præstiti
Viris et opibus, optimisque legibus)
Eutopia merito sum vocanda nomine.

## EJUSDEM TETRASTICHON.

Utopus me dux ex non insula fecit insulam,
Una ego terrarum omnium absque philosophia
Civitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
Libenter impertio mea, non gravatim accipio meliora.

## C. GOURADI DISTICHON.

Morus amoris amor, morum quoque Morus amator
Utopiam scribens tradidit Eutopiam.

## JO. LELANDI MORIADES.

Desine facundas nimium laudare diserti
Natas Hortensi maxima Roma tui.

Candida tres charites nam Mori cura politi
Obscurant multis nomina vestra modis;
Non illis studium Milesia vellera dextra
Carpere, non facili ducere fila manu;
Sed juvat eloquii crebro monumenta Latini
Versare, et doctis pingere verba notis.
Nec minus authores Græcos evolvere, Homerum
Et quem dicendi gloria prima manet.
Ut nec Aristotelis dicam quo pectore libros
Scrutentur, sophiæ mystica dona deæ.
Turpe viris posthac erit ignorare Minervæ
Artes, grex adeo quas muliebris amet.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

*Mundell, Doig, and Stevenson, printers, Edinburgh.*

# MEMOIRS

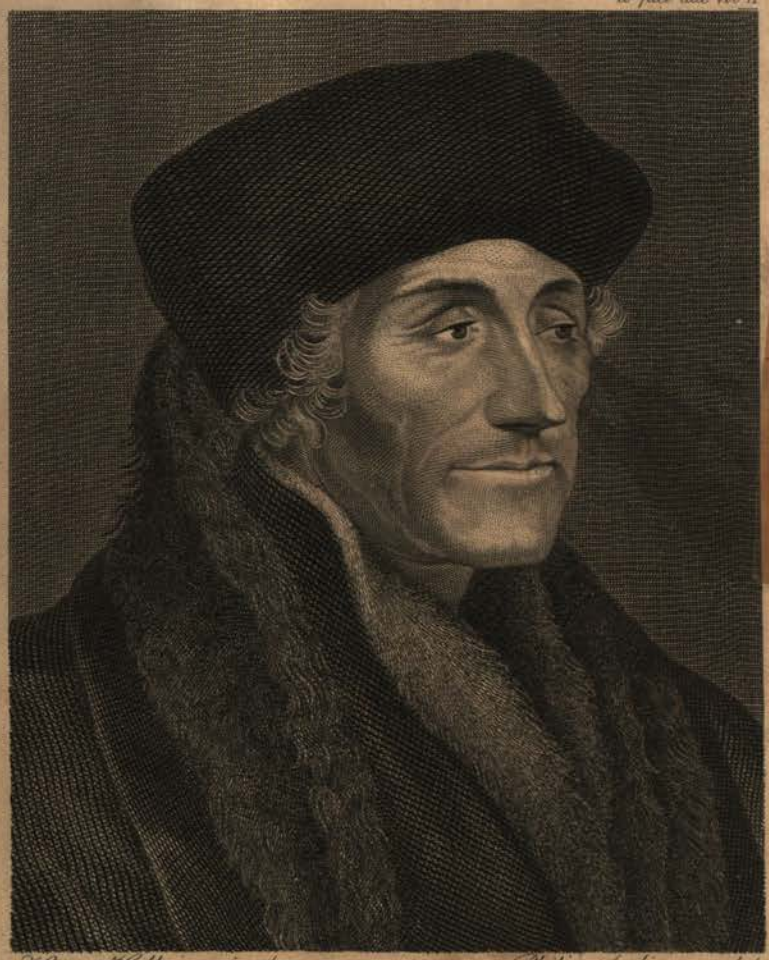
OF

# SIR THOMAS MORE,

&c.

VOL. II.

to face title Vol II



Hans Holbein pinx.t Philip Audinet sculp.t

Erasmus Rotterodamus

# MEMOIRS

OF

# SIR THOMAS MORE,

WITH

A NEW TRANSLATION OF HIS UTOPIA,

HIS

HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III,

AND

HIS LATIN POEMS.

*By ARTHUR CAYLEY, the Younger, Esq.*

Like Cato firm, like Aristides just,
Like rigid Cincinnatus nobly poor,
A dauntless soul, erect, who smil'd on death. THOMSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

*Vol. II.*

LONDON:

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1808.

*Printed by Mundell, Doig, and Stevenson, Edinburgh.*

# CONTENTS.

*Utopia* ..... 1

*History of King Richard III.* ..... 147

*Poemata* ..... 259

# SIR THOMAS MORE'S

# UTOPIA.

TO

# ÆGIDIUS OF ANTWERP.

I AM almost ashamed, dearest Peter, of sending you this tract of the Utopian commonwealth, after a delay of nearly a year, when you no doubt expected it within six weeks. For you knew I was eased of the labour of invention on this occasion, and that I had no thought to bestow upon method, having only to repeat what you as well as myself heard Raphael relate. Neither, on this account, was there any occasion for eloquence, since his discourse could not be highly polished, being off-hand and from one less learned in Latin than in Greek; and my narrative, the nearer it approaches his ease and simplicity, the nearer will it resemble the truth, my sole duty and care on this occasion.

I confess, dear Peter, so much of the labour was thus taken from my hand, that little or nothing was left me; though the invention and arrangement might have demanded from no mean or unlearned capacity some time as well as study. Had eloquence as well as truth been requisite, no time or study would have enabled me to accomplish it. But as it was, these difficulties being removed, my part was only to repeat what I had heard.

Yet little of my time as this required, that little was long denied me by my other avocations. For while, in pleading and attending, in judging or settling causes, in waiting upon some on business, on others from respect, the greater part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder must be devoted to my family at home: thus I can reserve no part to myself and study. I must chat with my wife and prattle with my children, and something I have to say to my servants. These things I reckon a part of a man's business, unless he will resolve to be a stranger at home. For with whomever nature, chance, or choice, hath engaged a man in any intercourse, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him as he can; still preserving such a disposition, that he may not spoil them by excessive gentleness, or let his servants become his masters.

Thus days, months, and years, slip away: what time then is left for writing? And hitherto I have said nothing of those hours which must be devoted to sleep; or of those to meals, on which many waste nearly as much time as in sleep, the consumer of almost half our life. Indeed all the time I can gain to myself, I steal from sleep and my meals; and because it is little, I have made slow progress. Yet being something, I have at last got to the end of Utopia, which I now send you; and expect, after you have read it, that you will inform me, if you can remind me of any thing which has escaped me. For though I should be happy had I as much invention and learning, as I know I have memory, and which makes me in general depend greatly upon it, yet do I not so entirely rely on my memory, as to think I can forget nothing.

My lad, John Clement, hath made some observations which startle me. You know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be at every conversation which may be useful to him; for I promise myself great things from his early progress in Greek and Roman learning. According to my memory, the bridge over Anider at Amaurot was, by Raphael's account, 500 paces; but John assures me he said 300, therefore, pray recollect what you can of this. For, if you agree with him, I will believe

that I have been mistaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I shall not alter what I have written, because it is according to my recollection. I shall take care that there be nothing falsely written, and if there be any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps *tell* a lie, I will not *make* one; for I had rather pass for a good than a wise man. But it will be easy to correct this mistake, if you can either meet with Raphael, or know how to address him by letter.

Another difficulty presses me still more, and makes your writing to him more necessary. I know not whether to blame Raphael, you, or myself for it; since we neither thought of asking him, nor he of telling us—*in what part of the new world Utopia is situate.* This was such an omission that I would gladly redeem it at any rate; for I am ashamed, after having told so much of this island, that I cannot inform my readers in what sea it lies.

There are some among us who have a strong desire to go thither. A pious divine, in particular, is very earnest in it, not so much from a vain curiosity of seeing unknown countries, as that he may advance our religion, so happily begun, to be planted there. And that he may proceed with regularity in this, he intends to procure a mission from the Pope, and be sent thither as their bishop. In a case like

this, he makes no scruple of aspiring to that character; but thinks such ambition meritorious, being solely instigated by pious zeal. He desireth it only as a mean of advancing the Christian religion, and not for any honour or advantage which may accrue to himself.

I therefore earnestly beg, if you can possibly meet with Raphael, or know how to address him, that you will be pleased to inform yourself on these points; that no falsehood may be left in my book, nor any important truth be wanting. And perhaps it will not be improper to let him see the book. For no man can correct its errors so well as he, and by perusing it, he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it, than from any discourse about it. You will likewise be able to discover whether my undertaking be acceptable to him or not. For if he intend writing a relation of his travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that I should anticipate him in what belongs to the Utopian Commonwealth; since, in that case, his book will not surprise the world with the pleasure which this new discovery will give it.

I am so little fond of appearing in print on this occasion, that if he dislike it, I will lay the piece aside; and even though he should approve it, I am not determined on pub-

lishing it. The tastes of men differ greatly. Some are so morose and sour, and form such absurd judgments, that the cheerful and lively who indulge their genius, seem happier than those who waste their time and strength in authorship. Though their work may be useful or pleasant, instead of being well received, it will be laughed at or censured. Many have no learning, others despise it. One accustomed to a coarse, harsh style, thinks every thing disagreeable which is not barbarous. Our trifling pretenders to learning, think all slight which is not dressed in obsolete words. Some love only what is old, others only what is their own.

Some are so sour that they can allow no jests, others so dull that they cannot bear any thing sharp; some dread any thing gay and lively, as a man bitten by a mad dog dreadeth water; while others are so light and unsettled, that their thoughts change as fast as their postures. Some again, at their tavern meetings, take upon themselves in their cups, very freely to censure all writers, and superciliously to condemn whatever they do not like. In this they have an advantage like a bald man, who can catch another by the hair without a fear of a return of the compliment; being, as it were, war-proof, from their incapability of receiving an attack. Others are so thankless, that even when well-pleased with a book, they

think they owe the author nothing; and resemble those rude guests, who, when they have been well entertained and their appetites glutted, depart without even thanking their host. Who would put himself to the charge of preparing a feast for palates so nice, tastes so varying, and guests so thankless!

But do you, dear Peter, clear those points with Raphael, and then it will be time enough to consider of publishing. For since I have been at the pains of writing the piece, if he consent to its publication, I shall follow the advice of my friends, and especially yours. Farewell, my dear Peter; commend me kindly to your good wife, and continue to love me as you used to do, for be assured I love you more and more daily.

# UTOPIA

## BOOK I.

HENRY VIII, the redoubted king of England, a prince endowed with all the virtues becoming a great monarch, having some important disputes with Charles, prince of Castile, sent me ambassador to Flanders to treat of and compose these matters. I was associated with and accompanied the incomparable Cuthbert Tonstal, whom the king, to such general satisfaction, lately made master of the rolls. Of him I will say nothing. Not for fear the testimony of a friend should be suspected, but because his learning and virtue are greater than I can do justice to, and so well known that they need not my commendation, unless, according to the proverb, *I would shew the sun with a lanthorn.*

Those appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges by agreement. They were all worthy men. The

margrave of Bruges was their chief, and the principal man among them; but George Temse, provost of Casselsee, was esteemed the wisest, and spoke for the rest. Art and nature had combined to make this man eloquent. He was very learned in the law, had a great capacity, and by long practice was become very dexterous at unravelling intricacies. When we had had several meetings without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days, to know their prince's pleasure; and I, since our business permitted it, went to Antwerp.

While there, among many who visited me, one person was more agreeable to me than any other. It was Ægidius, born at Antwerp, a man of great honour, and of good rank in his native city, though of less than he deserves, for I know not where to find a more learned and a better bred youth. Worthy and intelligent, he is so civil to all, so kind to his friends, and so full of candour and affection, that you will very rarely meet with so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest, without artifice, but full of prudent simplicity. His conversation was so pleasant and innocently cheerful, that his company greatly lessened the desire of returning to my country and family, which an absence of four months had occasioned.

One day, as I was returning from mass, I chanced to see him talking to a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age. His face was tanned, his beard long, and his cloak hanging carelessly about him; so that from his ap-

pearance I concluded he was a seaman. When Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to his companion, said, 'do you see that man? I was just thinking of bringing him to you.' 'He should have been very welcome (I answered) on your account.' 'And on his own too (he replied) if you knew the man. For no one alive can give a more copious account of unknown countries, which I know you love.' 'Then (said I) I did not guess amiss, for I took him for a seaman.' 'But you are much mistaken (he said), for he hath been no Palinurus, but another Ulysses, or rather a Plato.'

'This Raphael, whose family name is Hythloday, is not ignorant of Latin, but is eminently skilled in the Greek; having applied himself more particularly to the latter, because he had devoted himself to philosophy, in which he knew the Romans have left us nothing valuable but what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, and shared the hazards of Americus Vesputius, in three of his four voyages, now published. He did not return in the last; but obtained his leave almost by force, to be one of the twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched in their last voyage to New Castile.

'Leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one who was fonder of travelling, than of returning to be buried in his

own country. For he would often say, *the way to heaven is the same from all places, and who hath no grave hath heaven still over him.* Yet this disposition had cost him dear, had not God been very gracious to him. After he had travelled, with five Castilians, over many countries, at last, by strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and thence to Calicut, where he very fortunately found some Portuguese ships, and, beyond all expectation, returned to his country.'

I thanked Peter for his kindness, in intending to bring me acquainted with one whose conversation he knew would be so agreeable to me; and on this Raphael and I embraced. After the usual civilities, we all went to my house, and entering the garden, seated ourselves on a green bank and entertained each other in discourse.

He told us, when Vesputius had sailed, he and his companions who staid in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the natives, meeting them often, and treating them kindly. At last they not only lived among them without danger, but held familiar intercourse with them; and so far obtained the friendship of a prince (whose name and country I have forgotten) that he furnished them plentifully with all necessaries, and even with the conveniencies of travelling—boats and waggons. He gave them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see; and after travelling many days, they came to towns,

cities, and commonwealths, which were both happily governed and well peopled.

About the equator, as far on either side as the sun goeth, lay vast deserts, parched by his perpetual heat. The soil was withered; every thing looked dismal; all places were uninhabited or abounded in wild beasts and serpents, with a few men neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts. But as they proceeded, a new scene presented itself. Nature wore a milder aspect, the air was less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts less wild. At last they found nations, towns, and cities, which had not only mutual and neighbourly intercourse, but traded by sea and land to very remote countries.

The first vessels they saw were flat-bottomed, with sails of reeds and wicker woven closely together, and some of leather. Afterward they met with ships having round keels and canvas sails, like our own, and the seamen understood astronomy and navigation. He obtained their favour greatly by shewing them the needle, with which, till then, they were unacquainted. Formerly they sailed with extreme caution, and only in summer. Now they esteem all seasons alike, and trust wholly to the loadstone, in which plan there is perhaps more imaginary security than real safety; and this discovery, promising so much advantage, may, by their imprudence, become a source of great mischief to them.

But it were tedious to repeat all his observations; and what he repeated concerning the wise and prudent institutions of civilized nations, may perhaps be related on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions on these subjects, to which he replied very willingly; but we made no inquiries about *monsters*, the common subject. For everywhere we may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel cannibals; but it is not so easy to meet with states which are well and wisely governed.

Telling us of many defects in those new countries, he also recounted not a few circumstances which might serve as examples, and enable us to correct errors in our own countries. Of these, as before said, I may give an account at some future time. At present, it is my design only to relate what he told us of the laws and manners of the Utopians. But let me begin with the occasion which led us to speak of that commonwealth.

When Raphael had discoursed for some time, with great judgment, on the many defects in our own and these countries, had treated of the civil institutions here as well as there, and had spoken as distinctly of the government and customs of every country he had passed through, as if he had lived in it all his life, Peter exclaimed in admiration, 'I wonder Raphael you do not enter into some king's service; you would be very acceptable I am sure to any. Your knowledge of men and things is such, that you could not only entertain, but be of great advantage to them,

from the examples you could set before, and the advice you could give, them. And this would be to your own advantage, as well as enable you to serve your friends.'

For my friends,' he replied, 'I need not feel much concern, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me. For in my days of health, freshness, and youth, I distributed among my kindred and friends, that with which others part not till they be old and infirm: then unwillingly giving away what they can no longer enjoy. My friends, therefore, ought to rest content, and not expect me for their sakes to enslave myself to any king.'

'Softly,' said Peter, 'I mean not that you should be *a slave* to any king, but that you should assist and be useful to one.'

That is, be if possible more than a slave,' he replied.

'Term it as you will,' said Peter, 'I see no other way in which you can be so useful to your friends and the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier.'

'*Happier!*' replied Raphael. 'Is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? At present I live as I please, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend.

And there be so many who court the favour of the great, that it will be no loss if they be not troubled by me, or those of a temper like mine.'

Here, I said, 'I perceive Raphael you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value such a person more than any who are called *the great*. Yet I think you would act in a manner worthy of so generous and philosophical a spirit as yours, if you applied yourself to public affairs, though it might be a little unpleasant to you. This you could never do so effectually as by entering into the council of some great prince, and putting him (as I know you would do) upon noble and worthy actions; for good and evil flow from a prince over his country as water from a fountain. Your learning without experience, or the experience you have had, without learning, would render you a very proper counsellor for any prince.'

'You are mistaken,' he replied, 'as well in your judgment of me as of the matter in question; for neither have I the talents you imagine, nor, had I them, would the public be one jot the better when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. Most princes think more of military affairs than of the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have, nor desire to have, knowledge. They are generally more intent on acquiring new kingdoms, than on ably governing those which they possess. Of their ministers, all either are, or think themselves, too wise to need assistance; and if they court any, it is only those to whom their prince shew-

eth personal favour, that they may fix them in their interests. Indeed, nature hath so constituted us, that we all love flattery, and to please ourselves with our own conceits; the very crow loveth her young, and the ape her cubs.

'If in a court like this, where each envies his neighbour, and admires only himself, one should propose what he had read or seen, the rest would think their reputation and interest at stake if they could not run it down. If they had nothing else to allege, they would say, *such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us were we but their equals.* They would deem this a sufficient confutation of all that could be urged, as if it were a misfortune that any should be wiser than their fathers; and admitting all that was good in former ages, if aught better were proposed, they would shield themselves under this plea of reverence to past times. I have frequently met with this proud, morose, and absurd judgment, especially once in England.'

'Was you ever in England?' cried I.

'I was,' he answered, 'and staid some months. It was not long after the suppression of the rebellion in the west, with that great slaughter of the poor who were engaged in it. I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal and chancellor of England; a man, dear Peter (for Mr. More knew

him well) whose wisdom and virtue commanded no less respect than his station. He was of the middle stature, and not yet broken by age; his looks begat reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy but grave. He sometimes took delight in trying those who came to him upon business, by speaking sharply to them, though with decency; and was much pleased when he discovered spirit and presence of mind without rising to impudence, for this resembled his own temper, and he judged it the fittest for business. He spoke with grace and weight, was eminently skilled in law, had a vast understanding, an extraordinary memory; and these rich gifts of nature were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his counsel, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for he had been trained in business from his youth, and having experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, he had acquired wisdom at no small cost; and she is best retained when dearly purchased.

'One day when I was dining with him, an English lawyer, who happened to be at table, ran out in high commendation of the severity exercised against thieves, who, he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; adding, he could not enough wonder, since so few escaped, that there were yet so many who were stealing everywhere.

'Here I, who took the liberty of speaking freely before

the cardinal, observed, that there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this mode of punishment was neither just in itself, nor beneficial to the public. The severity of it is too great, and the remedy ineffectual; simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost life, and no punishment, however severe, being able to keep those from robbing who can find no other means of livelihood. 'In this,' I added, 'not only you English, but a great 'part of the world, imitate bad masters, who are readier to 'chastise their scholars than to teach them. Dreadful pu- 'nishments are inflicted on thieves; but it were better to 'make good provisions that all might know how to gain a 'livelihood, and be preserved from the necessity of stealing 'and of dying for it.'

'Care enough hath been taken of that,' said he. 'There be many handicrafts, and there is husbandry. By these they may live, unless they have a greater inclination to follow bad courses.'

'That will not serve your turn,' I replied. 'Many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France. Thus mutilated in the service of their country, they can no longer follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones. But since wars are only accidental, and have intervals, let us consider the occurrences of every day.

Your numerous nobility are themselves as idle as drones,

subsisting by the labour of their tenants, whom they oppress to extremity to raise their revenues. This indeed is the only instance of their frugality, for in all else they are prodigal even to their own ruin. They have about them a number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they might gain their living. These, as soon as their lord dies, or themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for lords are readier to feed the idle than to relieve the sick, and the heir is frequently unable to keep together so large an establishment as did his predecessor.

'Now when the stomachs of those who are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob keenly; and what else can they do? When, wandering about, they have worn out their clothes and their health, ghastly and ragged, men of quality will not, and the poor dare not maintain them. For one bred in idleness and pleasure, is unfit for the spade and mattock, and will not serve for the wages and diet of the poor.'

'Such men should be particularly cherished,' he replied, for they are the main strength of the armies for which we have occasion. Their birth inspireth them with a higher sense of honour than is to be found in tradesmen and husbandmen.'

'You might as well say,' replied I, 'that you must cherish thieves on account of wars, for you will never want the one while you have the other; and as robbers sometimes

prove gallant soldiers, so soldiers often prove brave robbers.

'But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this country. France hath yet a more pestiferous crew, for she is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace, if such a state can be called peace. And these are kept in pay on the same plea which you urge for those idle retainers about noblemen; it being a maxim of those pretended statesmen, that it is necessary for the public safety to hold a good body, especially veterans, ever in readiness. They think raw men not to be depended upon, and sometimes seek occasions for war to train them in the art of throat-cutting, or, as Sallust saith, to keep their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by intermission.

'But France hath learned to her cost, how dangerous it is to feed such animals. Rome, Carthage, Syria, and many more, ruined and overthrown by standing armies, should be a lesson to others. And the folly of this maxim of the French appeareth even from this; their trained soldiers often find your raw men their masters, on which I will not enlarge, lest you think I flatter the English.

'Every day's experience sheweth, that mechanics and husbandmen, if they be not disabled or dispirited by extreme want, are not afraid of contending with those idle fellows. Thus you need not apprehend, that those well-

shapen, strong men (whom alone the nobility love to hire) at present enfeebled by their modes of life, would be less fit for exertion were they properly bred and employed. And it seemeth very unreasonable, that for the prospect of a war, you should maintain so many idle fellows as to disturb you during peace, a time much more worthy of consideration.

'But I think not that this necessity for stealing ariseth hence only; there is yet another cause of it more peculiar to England.'

'What is that?' said the cardinal.

'The increase of pasture,' replied I; 'by which your sheep, naturally mild and tractable, may now be said to devour men, and unpeople towns and villages. Wherever the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool, there the nobility, gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not content with their old rents, nor thinking it sufficient that, living in indolence, they do no good to the public, resolve on the contrary to harm it. They stop agriculture, destroy houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and inclose grounds for their sheep. As if parks and forests had swallowed too little of the land, these worthies convert the places best inhabited into solitudes.

'For when an insatiate wretch, the plague of his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres, landlords as

well as tenants are turned out of possession by tricks or main force; or wearied by ill usage they sell at last. Thus men and women, married and single, old and young, with their poor and numerous families (for farming requireth many hands) are compelled to change their residence and know not whither to go. Their effects, little worth at best, they must sell for almost nothing. This little money is soon spent, and then what is left them but to steal and be hanged (God knoweth how justly) or to beg? If they do this, they are imprisoned as idle vagabonds, when they would gladly work, but can obtain no hire; for when no tillage remaineth, there is no need for the labour they have been bred to. One shepherd can tend a flock, which will graze acres that would employ many hands, were they in tillage.

'This likewise, in many places, raiseth the price of corn. And the price of wool is so risen, that the poor, who used to make cloth, are no longer able to buy it, which also leaveth many of them idle. For, since the increase of pasture, the Almighty hath punished the avarice of the land occupiers, by a rot among the sheep, which hath destroyed vast numbers of them. To us it might have appeared more just, had it fallen on the occupiers themselves.

'But should the sheep increase ever so much in number, their price will not fall. They are in so few and such powerful hands, that they will never be sold till the price is raised as high as possible. On the same account other

cattle are so dear. Many villages being destroyed and farming neglected, none make it their business to breed them. The rich breed them not as they do sheep, but buy them lean at low prices, fatten them on their own grounds, and sell them at high rates. I do not believe that all the inconveniencies of this mode are yet observed. For they sell the cattle dear, and if they be consumed faster than the countries where they are bred can supply them, the stock must decrease and great scarcity ensue; and thus your island, which seemed in this particular the happiest place in the world, may suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few.

'Moreover, the increased price of corn maketh all lessen their families as much as they can, and what can the dismissed do but beg or rob? to which latter a great mind is sooner driven than to the former. Luxury likewise breaketh in apace upon you, to promote your poverty and misery. Excessive vanity in apparel prevaileth, and extravagance in diet. And this not only in noble families, but even among tradesmen; among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks. You have also many infamous houses; and, exclusively of those which are known to be such, your taverns and ale-houses are no better. To these add cards, dice, &c. in which money quickly disappeareth, and the initiated must in the end betake themselves to robbery for a supply.

'Banish these evils. Command those who have dis-

peopled so many acres, to rebuild the villages they have destroyed, or to let their lands to those who will do so. Restrain those engrossings of the rich, nearly as bad as monopolies. Leave fewer occasions to idleness, restore agriculture, and regulate the manufacture of wool; that employment may be found for those whom want compelleth to be thieves, or who being now idle vagabonds or useless servants will become thieves at last. If you find not a remedy for these evils, it is vain to boast of your severity in punishing theft; which, though it may wear the appearance of justice, is neither just nor salutary. For if you educate your people ill, and corrupt their manners from their infancy, then punish them for crimes to which they are disposed by education, what is it but to make thieves, and then punish them for being such?'

'While I was speaking, the counsellor was preparing an answer, and intended to recapitulate my discourse with all the formality of debate; on which occasion remarks are generally repeated with more fidelity than they are answered, as if strength of memory were the chief trial.

'You have talked prettily for a stranger (said he), who hath heard of many things among us which he hath not been able duly to consider. But I will explain the whole matter to you, first repeating in due order all you have said. I will then shew you how much your ignorance of our polity hath misled you, and will, lastly, answer all your

arguments. That I may begin where I promised: there were four things—'

'Hold your peace (cried the cardinal) this will take up too much time. We will therefore, for the present, save you the trouble of answering, and will reserve this for our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael's and your business will allow of it.

'But, Raphael, (said the cardinal to me) I would know on what ground you think that theft ought not to be punished with death. Would you give way to it, or propose any other punishment more useful to the public? Since death doth not restrain theft, what terror or force could restrain the wicked if they thought their lives safe? Would they not feel the mitigation as an invitation to more crimes?'

'It seemeth very unjust to me (I replied) to take away life for a little money, for nothing can be of equal value with life. And if it be said, that the suffering is not for the money, but for the breach of the law, I answer, extreme justice is an extreme injury. For we ought not to approve of those terrible laws, which make the smallest offences capital, nor of that opinion of the stoics which maketh all crimes equal: as if no difference were to be made between killing a man and taking his purse, between which, in reality, there is the greatest disproportion.

'God hath commanded us *not to kill;* shall we then kill for a little money? And if it be said, the command extendeth not to cases where the laws of the land allow of killing, on the same ground laws may be made in some cases to allow of perjury and adultery. God having taken from us the right of disposing either of our own lives or those of others, if it be pretended that the mutual consent of mankind in framing laws, can authorize death in cases where God hath given us no example, that it supersedeth the obligation of the divine law, and maketh murder lawful, what is this but to prefer human to divine laws? Admit this, and men may in all cases lay what restrictions they please on God's laws.

'If by the Mosaical law, though severe, being made for a stubborn people, fine, and not death, was the punishment for theft, we cannot imagine that in our new and merciful law, in which God treateth us with the tenderness of a father, he hath allowed of greater cruelty than to the Jews.

On these grounds it is, that I think putting thieves to death, not lawful. And it is obviously absurd, and prejudicial to the commonwealth, that theft and murder should be punished alike. For, if a robber find that his danger is the same, if he be convicted of theft as if he had been guilty of murder, he will be incited to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since, the punishment being the same, there is less danger of discovery,

when he who can best make it is killed. Thus, terrifying thieves too much, provoketh them to cruelty.

But as to the question, *what more convenient punishment can be found*, I think the discovery of this much easier than the invention of any worse mode. Why should we doubt that the method so long in use among the old Romans (who so well understood the arts of government) was very proper. They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work all their lives in quarries, or dig in mines with chains about them.

'But the method I like best, is what I noticed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerites, a considerable and well governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the king of Persia, but in all other respects are free and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea and are environed with hills; and being content with the produce of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with other nations. And as, according to the genius of their country, they have no inclination to extend their territory, so their mountains and the pension they pay the Persian secure them from invasion. Thus they have no wars. They live conveniently rather than splendidly, and may be called a happy rather than an eminent people; for I believe their very names are unknown to any but their nearest neighbours.

'Those who are found guilty of theft among them, are

bound to make restitution to the owner, and not as elsewhere to the prince; for they reckon that the prince hath no more right to the stolen goods than the thief. But if that which was stolen be no longer in being, then the thief's effects are valued, and restitution being made, the remainder is given to his wife and children, and himself condemned to serve in the public works; but without imprisonment or chains, unless some extraordinary circumstances attend his crime. They go about at liberty, working for the public. If they be idle, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of reproach, save that their names are called over at night and they are shut up. They suffer no other hardship, but this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so are they well provided for out of the public stock, which is managed differently in different places.

'In some places, whatever is bestowed on them is raised by charitable contribution, and though this method might seem precarious, so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it. In other places, public revenues are set aside for them, or there is a poll-tax for their maintenance. In others, they are employed in no public work, but every one who hath occasion for labourers, goeth to the market-place and hireth them of the public, a little cheaper than he would do freemen; and if they prove lazy, he may quicken them with the whip. Thus there is ever some piece of work or other

to be done by them, and beside their livelihood, they earn something for the public.

'They all wear a peculiar habit of a certain colour, their hair is cropt a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them meat, drink, or clothes of the prescribed colour; but if they give them money, it is death to the giver and receiver. Nor is it less punishable for any freeman to take money from them on any account whatever; and it is death for any of these slaves (as they are called) to handle arms. Those of each division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar badge. It is a capital crime if they lay this aside, if they exceed their bounds, or talk to a slave of another jurisdiction. The very attempt at an escape is no less punishable than an escape itself. It is death for any other slave to be accessory to it, and if a freeman engage in it he is condemned to slavery. Those who discover such a design are rewarded; if freemen, with money, if slaves, with liberty, with a pardon for being accessory; that they may find their account in repenting of such an engagement, rather than in persisting in it.

'These are their laws and regulations in regard to robbery; and it is obvious that they are no less advantageous than mild. For not only vice is destroyed and men preserved, but they are treated in a manner to convince them of the necessity of honesty, and of employing their remaining days in repairing the injuries they have formerly

done to society. Nor is there a hazard of their relapsing into their old ways. So little do travellers apprehend from them, that they use them as guides from one district to another. For, they have neither the means of robbing, nor would they reap any advantage by it, being unarmed, and the very possession of money being a conviction of them. And as they are certainly punished, if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit differing throughout from what is commonly worn, their only resource could be to go naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them.

'The only danger to be apprehended was, their conspiring against the government. But one division could do nothing to any purpose, and a general conspiracy of the slaves of the several districts cannot be accomplished, since they cannot meet and talk together. Nor is it likely any would venture on a design where concealment was so dangerous and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, for by their obedience and patience, and by giving reason to believe that they will change their course of life, they may expect it at last. Some are yearly restored to it, on the good character which is given of them.'

'When I had said all this, I added, I saw not why such a method might not be followed, even in England, with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor so much applauded.

'It could never take place in England,' he replied, 'without endangering the whole country;' and as he said this, he shook his head, made some grimaces, and was silent.

All the company seemed of his opinion except the cardinal, who said, it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it had not been tried. 'But if,' said he, 'when sentence of death is passed on a thief, the prince would reprieve him a while and make the experiment, denying him a sanctuary, and that it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it succeeded not, the sentence could be executed at last. I see not,' he added, 'why it would be unjust, inconvenient, or in the least dangerous, to allow of such a delay. Vagabonds, in my opinion, ought to be treated in the same manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet have we not been able to gain our end.'

'When the cardinal had said this, they all commended the notion, though they had despised it when it came from me. And they particularly applauded what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation. I know not whether it be worth while repeating what followed, for it was very ridiculous. But, as it is not foreign to this matter, and that some good use may be made of it, I will venture to do it.

'A jester stood by, who counterfeited the fool so naturally, that he appeared to be one in reality. His jests were

so cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them. Yet sometimes he said things, by chance as it were, which were pleasant enough; confirming the old proverb, *he who often throweth the dice will sometimes make a lucky hit.*

'When one of the company had said, I had taken care of the thieves and the cardinal of the vagabonds, so that nothing remained but that some public provision be made for the poor, whom sickness or age disabled from labour; 'Leave that to me,' said the fool, 'I shall take care of them, for there are none whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them and their complaints. But dolefully as they have told their tale, they could never draw one penny from me; for either I had no mind to give them any thing, or when I had a mind, I had nothing to give them. They now know me so well, that they lose not their labour, but let me pass without troubling me, for they expect nothing, any more in faith than if I was a priest. But I would have a law made for sending all these beggars to monasteries; the men to the Benedictines to be made lay-brothers, the women to be nuns.'

'The cardinal smiled and approved of this in jest, while the rest liked it in earnest.

'A divine was present, who, though a grave man, was so pleased with the reflection on the priests and monks, that he began to joke with the fool, and said to him, *this will not clear you of all beggars, unless you take care of us friars.*

'That is done already,' answered the fool, 'for the cardinal hath provided for you by his proposal for vagabonds. —I know no vagabonds like you.'

'This amused the whole company, who, looking at the cardinal, perceived he was not displeased at it. But the friar, as you may imagine, was vexed, and grew into such passion that he could not help calling the fool, knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and then citing some dreadful denunciations against him from Scripture.

'The jester thought he was now in his element, and laid about him freely. 'Good friar,' he said, 'be not angry, for it is written, *in patience possess your soul.*'

'The friar answered, (I give you his own words), 'I am not angry, you hang-dog, at least I sin not in it, for the Psalmist saith, *be ye angry and sin not.*'

'On this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passion.

'No, my lord,' said he, 'I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have. For the holy have had a good zeal, as it is said, *the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.* And we sing in our church, that those who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God, felt the effect of his zeal, which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel.'

'You do this perhaps with a good intention,' said the cardinal, 'but in my opinion it were wiser, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool.'

'No, my lord,' answered he, 'that were not wisely done, for Solomon, 'the wisest of men, said, *answer a fool according to his folly;* which I now do, and shew him the ditch into which he will fall if he be not aware of it. For if the many mockers of Elisha, only one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom are so many bald men? We have moreover a papal bull, by which all who jeer us are excommunicated.'

'When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, changed the discourse, and soon afterward arose from table; and, taking leave of us, went to hear causes.

'Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I should have been ashamed, had not you earnestly begged it of me, and listened to it as if you had no mind to lose a word. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you in detail, that you might observe how those who despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not disapprove of it, than they presently approved it, fawned on and flattered him, till they in good earnest applauded what he liked on-

ly in jest. And hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels.'

'You have done me,' I answered, 'a great kindness in this relation. For every thing hath been related by you wisely and pleasantly, and you have made me imagine I was in my own country and grown young again, by recalling to my thoughts that good cardinal, in whose family I was bred from my childhood. And though on other accounts you are dear to me, yet are you dearer by honouring his memory so much.

'But, after all you have said, I am still of opinion that if you could overcome your aversion to the courts of princes, you might materially benefit mankind, by the advice you could give; and the benefit of mankind is the chief end which every good man should propose to himself in living. Your friend Plato thought nations would be happy when philosophers became kings, or kings philosophers; no wonder then we are so far from happiness, when philosophers will not think it their duty to assist kings with their counsels.'

'Their minds are not so base,' he replied, 'but they would willingly do it (nay, many of them have done it by their writings), would those in power but listen to their advice. But Plato judged rightly, that except kings themselves became philosophers, being corrupted with false notions from their childhood, they would never consent en-

tirely with the counsels of philosophers; and the truth of this himself experienced in Dionysius.

'Do not you think, if I was about any king, proposing good laws to him and endeavouring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil I could find in him, I should be turned out of his court, or at least laughed at for my pains?

'For instance. What could it signify if I was about the king of France and called into his cabinet council, where several wise men were proposing sundry plans—as, by what arts Milan may be kept, and Naples, which hath so often slipped from his hands, recovered—how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued—then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, with other kingdoms which he hath already swallowed in his designs, may be added to his empire.

'One proposeth a league with the Venetians, to be preserved as long as he findeth his account in it; and that he should communicate with them and give them a share of the spoil, till his successes render him less dependent on, or fearful of them, and then it may be easily broken.

'Another proposeth hiring the Germans, and securing the Swiss by pensions; another, gaining the emperor by money, his deity. A fourth proposeth a peace with the king of Arragon, and, to cement it, the yielding the king of Navarre's pretensions; a fifth thinketh the prince of

Castile may be wrought upon by the hope of an alliance, and that some of his courtiers are to be gained by pensions.

'The most difficult point is, what is to be done with England? A treaty of peace must be set on foot, and if her alliance be not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible, and she is to be called a friend, but suspected as an enemy. The Scots must be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon her on every occasion; and some banished nobleman, who hath a pretension to the crown, must be supported underhandly (from the league it cannot be done avowedly), that the mistrusted prince may be held in awe.

'Now when matters are in this fermentation, and so many noblemen are joining in council how to carry on the war, if so mean a fellow as I should stand up and wish them to change all their counsels, to leave Italy alone and remain at home, France being a greater kingdom than could be properly governed by one man, and therefore not to be increased—If then I should propose to them the example of the Achorians, a people lying south-east of Utopia, who, long ago, engaged in war, to add another kingdom to the dominions of their prince, to which he had some pretension from an old alliance—

'They conquered it, but found the trouble of keeping it as great as that by which it was gained; that the con-

quered were ever in rebellion or invaded by foreigners, while themselves were constantly at war either for or against them, and could never disband their army; that in the meantime they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, they spilt their blood for the glory of their king, without the least advantage to the people, even in time of peace; and that, their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murder everywhere abounded, and their laws fell into contempt, while their king, distracted by two kingdoms, was less able to apply his attention to the interest of either.

'When they saw this, and that there would be no end of these evils, they humbly besought the king to choose whichever of the kingdoms he preferred, since he could not hold both—they would not, they said, be governed by half a king, when no man would willingly share, even a groom with another master. Upon this the good prince made over his new conquest to one of his friends (who was soon afterward dethroned) and contented himself with his old kingdom.

'To this I would add, that, after all these attempts, the confusion, consumption of treasure and people, which must ensue, perhaps, on some misfortune, they might be compelled to give up all at last. It therefore seemed much more eligible, that the king should improve his old kingdom as much as he could and make it flourish, that he should love his people, and be beloved by them; that he

should live among them, govern them mildly, and leave other kingdoms alone, since what had fallen to his share was large enough, if not too large, for him.

——'How think you, would such a speech as this be relished?'

'Not very well, I believe and confess,' replied I.

'But,' said he, 'what if I fell in with another class of ministers, whose chief object is to increase the prince's treasure. Where one proposeth raising the value of specie when the king is in debt, and lowering it when his revenues come in, that he may pay much with little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another proposeth a pretence of war, that money may be raised to carry it on, and a peace concluded as soon as this is done; and this under such religious pretences, as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince and his tenderness for their lives. A third offereth some musty laws, antiquated by long disuse, and forgotten and broken by all; and proposeth levying the penalties of them, which would bring in much, and there is a good pretence for it, since it would look like executing a law and doing justice.

'A fourth proposeth to prohibit many things under severe penalties, especially such as are against the interest of the people; and then dispensing with these prohibitions on great compositions, to those who might find their advantage

in breaking them. This would answer two ends, both of them acceptable to many. Those whose avarice led them to transgress would be severely fined; and the selling licences dear, would look as if the prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at a low rate, dispense with any thing which might be against the public good.

'Another proposeth that the judges be secured, to declare ever in favour of the prerogative; and that they be often sent for to court, to let the king hear them argue those points in which he is concerned. Since, however, unjust any of his pretensions may be, yet some one or other of them, in the spirit of contradiction, the pride of singularity, or to make his court, would find some pretence for giving the king a fair colour for carrying his point. For let the judges but differ in opinion, and the clearest thing in the world becometh disputable; and the truth once brought in question, the king may expound the law to his own purpose, and the judges who stand out will be brought over by fear or modesty. Thus gained, they may all be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the king would have it, for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour. It will either be said that equity lieth on his side, or some words in the law will be found bearing that sound, or some forced sense will be put upon them. And when all else faileth, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as what is above all law, and to which an upright judge ought to have especial regard.'

'Thus all consent to the maxims of Crassus, that a king cannot have sufficient treasure, since he must maintain his armies from it; that, if ever so much inclined that way, he can do no injustice; that all property is vested in him, not even excepting the persons of his subjects; and that no man hath any other property than what the king in his goodness chooseth should remain in his possession. They think it the interest of the prince, that as little should remain so, as may be, as if it was for his advantage, that his people should have neither riches nor liberty; these making them less easy under cruelty and injustice, while poverty breaketh that spirit which might otherwise rebel.

'If, when all these propositions had been made, I should assert, that such counsels are mischievous and unbecoming a king, and that not only his honour, but his safety, consisteth more in his people's wealth than in his own. If I should shew, that they choose a king for their own sake and not for his, that by his exertion and care they may be easy as well as safe; and that therefore a prince ought to be more solicitous of his people's happiness than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself—

'They also are certainly much mistaken who imagine that poverty is a safeguard to a country. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who more earnestly long for a change, than those whose present circumstances are uneasy to them?

And who create confusion so desperately, as those, who having nothing to lose, hope to gain by it?

'Should a king fall into such contempt or envy, that he could not preserve the allegiance of his subjects without oppression and impoverishment, he had better abdicate his throne, than preserve the name, without the dignity of authority; and it is less dignity to reign over beggars, than over rich and happy subjects. The noble Fabricius said, he had rather govern rich men than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, while all around him were groaning, became a jailer but not a king.

'He is an unskilful physician who cannot cure one disorder, without bringing another upon his patient; and the prince who can find no other means of eradicating the evils of a state than that of banishing from it the conveniencies of life, proves that he knoweth not how to govern a free people.

'Let him rather shake off his sloth, or banish his pride; for his people's contempt or hatred ariseth from his own vices. Let him live on his revenue without injuring any, and accommodate his expenditure to it. Let him punish, and endeavour to prevent, crimes, rather than be severe when he hath suffered them to become too common. Let him not rashly revive laws which are abrogated by disuse, especially when they have been long forgotten and not wanted. And let him never exact penalties for the breach

of them, except in cases where a judge would allow a private man to exact them, without imputing to him craft or injustice.

'Here I would add that law of the Macarians, who lie near Utopia, by which their king, on commencing his reign, is bound by an oath, which is confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have above a thousand pounds of gold in his treasury at a time, or an equivalent value in silver. This law, they tell you, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to his country's than his own wealth; and therefore provided against the accumulation of treasure to the impoverishment of his people. He thought that sum sufficient for accidents, should the king require it against rebels, or the country against invasion; yet insufficient to encourage the prince to invade the rights of others, his chief object in enacting the law. He also thought it a good security for that free circulation of money, which is the life of commerce. And, when a king is obliged to disburse the accumulations of the treasury beyond a certain sum, it inclineth him less to oppress his subjects. Such a king will be a terror to the wicked and beloved by the good.

——'If, as I said before, I should talk in this strain to men of the other persuasion, would they not be deaf to all I could say?'

'No doubt very deaf,' answered I, 'and no wonder, for it is very wrong to make propositions or give advice which

we are sure will not be received. Such unusual discourse would avail nothing with men prepossessed by different sentiments; and though this philosophical kind of speculation be not unpleasant among friends in free conversation, there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where affairs are conducted *by authority*.'

'This is exactly what I affirmed,' replied he, '*there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes*.'

'Yes there is,' said I, 'but not for this speculative philosophy, which supposeth all things suitable to all occasions There is another philosophy more accommodating, who knoweth her place and accommodateth herself to it, teaching man, with propriety and decency to act the part which hath fallen to his lot. If, at a representation of one of Plautus' comedies, you came in the garb of a philosopher, and repeated from Octavia a discourse of Seneca to Nero, had you not better been silent than make an impertinent tragi-comedy by mixing incongruities, which spoil the play, though what you introduce be perhaps better? Thus, in a commonwealth, and at the councils of princes, if evils cannot be rooted out or cured according to your wish, yet you must not abandon the state, as you would not leave the helm in a storm because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to attack people with discourses which are out of their way, when you find that their received opinions must prevent your making an impression on them. You ought rather to cast about and manage matters with

all the dexterity in your power, that if you cannot make things go well, you may make them go as little otherwise as possible. Unless all are good, every thing cannot be right; and that is a blessing I have no hopes of seeing at present.'

'By following your counsel,' replied he, 'I should run a violent risk of going mad myself, while endeavouring to cure madness in others. If I will speak the truth, I must repeat what I have already said to you; and whether philosophers can lie, I will not determine; certain I am, I cannot. But though such discourse may be disagreeable to them, I see not why it should seem foolish or extravagant. Indeed, if I should propose such inventions as Plato's in his Commonwealth, or those of the Utopians, though they might seem better, as certainly they be, yet differ they so much from our establishment, founded on property (which is unknown among them) that I could not expect any effect from it. But discourses like mine, which only recal past evils to mind, and warn of what may happen, contain no such absurdity, but they may be used at any time; for they can be unpleasant only to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way. And if we must pass over as absurd or extravagant every thing which, owing to the wickedness of many, may seem harsh, we must not urge most of those truths which Christ hath taught us, even among Christians; though he hath commanded, we should proclaim on the house-tops what he taught in secret. Most of his precepts oppose themselves to the lives of this age,

more than doth my discourse; but your preachers seem to have learned the craft which you recommend. Observing that the world would not suit their lives to Christ's rules, they have adapted his doctrine (like a leaden ruler) to their lives, that they might agree some way or other. But this compliance hath had no other effect than that men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success I can expect in a court; I must ever differ from the rest, so shall be of no signification; had I agreed with them, I should only have promoted their madness.

'I comprehend not what you mean by casting about, or managing matters so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little otherwise as may be; for in courts a man cannot hold his peace, or connive at the actions of others. He must openly approve the worst counsels, and consent to the blackest designs, so that, in your way, he would pass for a spy, or perhaps a traitor, who only coldly acquiesced in such practices. Engaged in such connections, he will be so far from mending matters by *casting about*, as you call it, that he will find no opportunities of doing good. His evil communicants will sooner corrupt him than be benefited by him, or, should he remain innocent, their folly and knavery will be imputed to him; and by joining in their counsels, he must bear his share of all the blame which belongeth wholly to others.

'It is no bad simile by which Plato shewed, how unreasonable it is for a philosopher to meddle with government.

If a man,' he says, 'saw a company run daily into the rain with delight, and knew that it would be to no purpose to endeavour to persuade them to return home and avoid the storm, and that all he could expect would be to be as wet as they, it would be best for him to remain at home, and, since he could not correct the folly of others, take care of himself. But, to speak my real sentiment, I must own, as long as there is any property, and money is the standard of all things else, I cannot think that a country can be governed justly or happily. Not justly, for the best things will fall to the lot of the worst men; not happily, for all things will be divided among a few, who are not completely happy, while the rest are left in absolute misery.

'When, therefore, I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well regulated by so few laws; where virtue hath its reward, yet is there such an equality that every man liveth in plenty; when I compare with them so many other nations, which are ever making new laws, yet cannot bring their constitution to a due standard, though every one hath his property; where all the laws they can invent cannot obtain or preserve it, or even enable men to distinguish their own from another's, as the many law-suits, eternally depending, prove; when, I say, I weigh all these things, I incline more and more to Plato's opinion, and wonder not, that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things.

So wise a man could not but foresee, that placing all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy; and this cannot be, so long as there is property. For, when every one draweth to himself all he can, by one claim or other, it must follow, that how rich soever a country may be, yet, a few dividing her wealth among themselves, the rest must become indigent. Thus there will be two descriptions of people among them who deserve an interchange of circumstances; one useless, but wicked and rapacious; the other sincere and modest, serving the public more than themselves by their industry. Whence I am persuaded, that until property be destroyed, there can be no just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for while it is maintained, the greater and better part of mankind will be oppressed with care and anxiety.

'I confess, that without destroying it entirely, the oppressions of many may be lightened, but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were enacted to determine at what extent of territory, and what amount of money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he grew not too great, and the people that they became not too insolent, and to prevent any from factiously aspiring to public employments which ought neither to be sold nor made burdensome (for then those who serve them would reimburse themselves by knavery and violence, and it would be necessary to find rich men for those places which ought rather to be holden by the wise); these laws, I say, might

have a similar effect with good diet and care upon a sick man, they might mitigate the disorder, but the body politic could never again be brought to a good habit while property remained; and it will happen, as in a complication of disorders, that, applying a remedy to one part, you will do harm elsewhere.'

'On the contrary,' answered I, 'it appeareth to me that men cannot live conveniently where all things are in common. How can there be any plenty where every man excuseth himself from labour? For the hope of gain exciteth him not, and his confidence in the industry of others may make him slothful. If men be pinched by want, yet cannot dispose of any thing as their own, what can follow but sedition and bloodshed, especially when the authority of magistrates is wanting, for I see not how that can exist among these equals.'

'I do not wonder,' he replied, 'that it appeareth so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no just one, of such a constitution. But had you been in Utopia with me and seen her laws and regulations as I did for five years, (during which I was so delighted with the place, that I should never have left it, but to make the discovery of that new world to Europeans), you would confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted.'

'You will not easily persuade me,' said Peter, 'that any country in that new world is better governed than those

among us. For our understandings are not inferior to theirs, and our government being more ancient (if I mistake not), long practice hath holpen us to many conveniencies of life, and happy casualties have discovered other things which no human understanding could ever have invented.'

'As for the antiquity of either their government or ours,' said he, 'you cannot form a true judgment of it unless you had read their histories; for if these be entitled to credit, they had towns among them before these parts had inhabitants. And as for those discoveries which chance or ingenuity hath made, they might have happened there as well as here. I deny not that we are more ingenious, but they greatly excel us in industry and application. They knew little of us before our arrival among them, and they call us, in general, the nations lying beyond the equinoctial.

'Their chronicle recordeth a shipwreck which happened on their coast twelve hundred years ago, and some Romans and Egyptians reaching the shore, spent their lives among them. Their ingenuity was such, that they acquired from these men, as far as they knew them, all the useful arts then common among the Romans; and from their hints they found out more of those arts, less ably explained to them. But hath such an accident at any time brought any of them into Europe, we, so far from improving, do not even retain the memory of it; as hereafter it will probably

be forgotten that I was ever there. And this is the true cause why they are better governed and live happier than we do, though we fall not short of them in understanding or external advantages.'

On this, I said to him, 'I beg you will describe that island very particularly to us; that is, her soil, rivers, towns, people, manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you think will interest us; and you will easily conceive we have much curiosity about a people so new to us.'

'I willingly comply,' he answered, 'for I have digested the matter with care, but the relation will take up some time.'

'Let us go and dine then,' said I, 'after which we shall have leisure enough.'

He consented, we went to dinner, and afterward returned to the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that we were not interrupted, and Peter and I desired Raphael to perform his promise.

Observing our attention, after a little recollection, he began thus——

END OF BOOK I.

# UTOPIA.

## BOOK II.

'THE island of Utopia is 200 miles broad in the middle, and over a great part of it, but grows narrower at either end. The figure of it is not unlike a crescent. Eleven miles breadth of sea washeth its horns and formeth a considerable bay, encompassed by a shore about 500 miles in extent, and well sheltered from storms. In the bay is no great current. The whole coast is as it were a continued harbour, affording the whole island every advantage of mutual intercourse. Yet the entrance into the bay, owing to rocks and shoals, is very dangerous.

In the middle is a rock which appeareth above water, on whose top is a tower inhabited by a garrison. The other

rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only by the natives, and a stranger entering the bay without one of their pilots would be in imminent danger of shipwreck. Themselves could not pass it in safety, without certain marks on the coast to direct their way. And if these were a little altered, any fleet coming against them, however large, would certainly be lost. On the other side of the island are likewise many harbours; and the coast is so fortified by nature as well as art, that a small force could hinder the descent of a large army.

Report saith (and marks of its credibility remain) that this island was originally a part of the continent. Utopus, the conqueror of it, and whose name it now bears (having previously been called Abraxa), brought the government and civility of the rude inhabitants to their present highly improved state. Having easily subdued them, he formed the design of separating them from the continent and encompassing them with the sea. To this end, he ordered a deep channel to be dug 15 miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only obliged them, but also his own soldiers to labour at the work. From the number of hands employed, it was finished with dispatch exceeding every man's expectation; and his neighbours, who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, when they saw it accomplished, were struck with admiration and terror.

There are 54 cities in the island, all of them large and

well built. Their laws, manners, and customs, are the same, and they resemble each other as nearly as the ground they stand on will allow. The nearest to each other are at least 24 miles asunder; and the most remote, not above a day's journey on foot. Every city sendeth three of her wisest senators once a-year to Amaurot (the capital of the island, and situate in the center), to consult on their common interests. The jurisdiction of every city extendeth at least 20 miles, and farther where they lie wider asunder. No one desireth to enlarge her boundary, for the people consider themselves in the light of good husbands, rather than owners, of their lands.

They have built farm-houses over the whole country, which are well contrived and furnished with every necessary. Inhabitants for them are sent in rotation from the cities. No family in the country hath fewer than forty men and women in it, beside two slaves. A master and mistress preside over every family, and over thirty families a magistrate. Every year twenty of the family return to town after having been two years in the country, and in their place other twenty are sent to learn country business of those who have been there only one year, and must, in their turn, teach the next comers. Thus, those who live on the farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and commit no fatal errors, such as causing a scarcity of corn.

But, notwithstanding these yearly changes, to prevent any from being compelled against inclination to follow that

hard course of life too long, many of them take such pleasure in it, that they ask leave to continue therein many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and send it to the towns by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinity of chickens in a very curious manner. They are not hatched by hens, but a vast number of eggs are hatched together by means of an equable artificial warmth; and no sooner do the young quit the shell, than they consider their feeder as their dam, and follow man as other chickens do the hen.

They breed few horses, but those they have are high-mettled, and employed in exercising their youth in horsemanship. In the cart and plough they use oxen. For, though their horses be stronger, they find their oxen more patient of labour, subject to fewer disorders, and maintained at less charge and trouble; and when no longer fit for labour, they are good meat at last.

They sow no more corn than they want for their bread, for they drink wine, cider, or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or liquorice, in which they abound. And though they know exactly how much corn every city and the tract belonging to it require, they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption, giving the overplus to their neighbours. When they want any thing in the country which it doth not produce, they fetch it from the city without carrying any thing in exchange, and the city magistrates take care to see them

supplied. At harvest time, the country magistrates inform those in the city how many reapers they want, which number being supplied, they commonly dispatch the work in a day. He who knows one of their towns, knows them all, they are so much alike unless their situations differ. I will therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot: for all the rest yield to it in precedence (it being the seat of supreme council), and I have lived in it five years.

It lieth on the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground. Its figure is nearly a square. For one side, which beginneth a little below the top of the hill, runneth two miles, until it come to the river Anider; but the side which runneth along the bank of that river is a little broader. The Anider riseth about 80 miles above the city, in a small spring, but is afterward joined by other streams, of which two are more considerable than the rest. At Amaurot it is half a mile broad, but still increases, till, after a course of 60 miles below it, it loses itself in the ocean. Between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours with a strong current. The tide cometh up so full for about 30 miles, that the water is salt, and some miles above that it is brackish; but a little higher, as it runneth past the town, it is quite fresh, and at the ebb it continueth fresh to the sea.

A stone bridge is thrown over the river, consisting of many stately arches. It is situate at the part of the town which

is farthest from the sea, that ships may lie along side of the town. There is also another pleasant small river, rising in the same hill on which the town standeth, which runs down through it and falls into Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river (which springeth a little without the town), that if they be besieged, the enemy may not be able to stop, divert, or poison the water. It is carried thence in earthen pipes to the lower streets. And for those parts of the town to which this water cannot be conveyed, they have large cisterns for receiving rain water, which supplieth its place.

The city is compassed with a high thick wall, in which are many forts and towers. A broad and deep dry ditch, set thickly with thorns, guardeth three sides of it, and the river the fourth. The streets are conveniently contrived for carriages, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and so uniform, that the side of a street looketh like one large house. The streets are twenty feet broad. Behind every house is a garden, large, but inclosed by buildings, which face the back part of the street; and every house hath a door to the street and a back door to the garden. They use folding doors, which open with the utmost ease, and shut themselves; and there being no property among them, any person may enter wherever he pleases—they change their very houses by lot every ten years.

They cultivate their gardens with much care, and have

vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers. All is so well ordered and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens so uniting beauty with fertility. This cometh, not only from the pleasure their gardens afford them, but also from an emulation among the inhabitants of different streets, who vie with each other. Nothing belonging to the town is more useful and pleasant, and the founder of the city seems to have had a particular eye to these gardens.

Report saith, the first design of the town was by Utopus. But he left ornament and improvement to his successors, that being more than one man could accomplish. The records of the town and state are preserved with great care, and extend 1760 years backward. By these it appears, that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, with mud walls, any kind of timber, and thatched with straw. At present their houses are three storys high, faced with stone, plaster, or brick, and in the intervals is thrown the rubbish. Their roofs are flat, and they lay on them a kind of cheap plaster, which will not take fire, yet resists weather better than lead. Abounding in glass, they glaze their windows; and use also a thin linen cloth, so oiled or gummed, that it excludes wind while it freely admits light.

Thirty families choose yearly a magistrate, who was formerly called the syphogrant, but now the philarch. Over every ten syphogrants, with these their families each, is another magistrate, formerly called tranibor, now protophi-

larch. The syphogrants, 200 in number, choose the prince from a list of four, named by the people of the four divisions of the city, taking an oath beforehand, that they will choose him whom they think fittest for the office. They vote privately, so that it is not known for whom each giveth his suffrage; and the prince is for life, unless he be removed on suspicion of a design to enslave his people.

The tranibors are newly chosen every year, yet generally continued; while all their other magistrates are annual. They meet every third day (oftener if necessary), and consult with the prince concerning the general interests of the state, or private dissensions among the people, though the latter seldom happen. Two syphogrants are alway called into the council-chamber, and are changed daily. It is a fundamental rule of the constitution, that nothing relative to the public can be concluded, until the matter hath been debated three days in the council. And it is death for any to meet and hold consultation concerning the state, except at their council, or in the general assembly of the people.

This hath been so provided, that the prince and the tranibors may not conspire to change the government and enslave the people. Therefore, when any thing of great importance is on foot, the syphogrants are made acquainted with it, who, when they have communicated it to the families belonging to their divisions, and have considered it themselves, make report to the senate; and on great oc-

casions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island.

One rule observed in their council is, never to debate a subject on the day on which it is proposed. It is ever referred to the next meeting, for fear of rashness and the heat of argument; which might lead them, instead of consulting the public good, to support their first opinions, and hazard their country rather than endanger their own reputation. To prevent this, they are made deliberate rather than expeditious.

Agriculture is so universally understood among them, that neither man nor woman is ignorant of it. They are instructed in it from their childhood, partly at school and partly by practice, being frequently led into the fields near the town, where they not only see others at work, but become exercised in it themselves. Beside agriculture, so common to them, every man hath some peculiar trade, as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's or carpenter's work. No other trade is in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear one sort of clothes, without any other distinction than what is necessary for different sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never changes, is easy and agreeable, suited to the climate, and for summer as well as winter.

Every family maketh clothes for itself; and women as well as men all learn some one of the trades before men-

tioned. The women generally engage in the wool and flax, leaving the ruder trades to the men. One trade is generally followed by father and son, their inclinations often agreeing. But if any man's genius pointeth another way, he is adopted into a family professing the trade he prefers, and care is taken by his father and by the magistrate that his master be a proper person. If, when one hath learned a certain trade, he desire to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed as before. And when he hath learned both, he follows that which he prefers, unless the public hath more occasion for one than the other.

The chief and almost only business of the syphogrants, is to take care that no man liveth idly, but that every one followeth his trade diligently. Yet they exhaust not themselves with perpetual toil from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden; which is indeed a heavy slavery, yet the common course of life among all mechanics save the Utopians. But, dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, they appoint six for work, three before and three after dinner. They then sup, and at eight o'clock, reckoning from noon, they go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of his time is left to every man's discretion. Yet they are not to dissipate the interval in luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise, according to their various inclinations, which is generally reading.

They have public lectures every morning before day-

break. None are obliged to attend, except those who are appointed to literary professions; yet many women as well as men go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their inclinations. If others, not formed for contemplation, prefer employing themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are commended as subjects desirous of serving their country.

After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in the garden, and in winter in their halls, entertaining each other with music or discourse. They have no idea of dice, or of any foolish and mischievous game. They have, however, two games not unlike our chess. The one, a battle of numbers, in which number consumes number. The other, a contest between the virtues and vices, in which the discord among the vices themselves and their union against virtue is not unpleasantly represented; together with the particular opposition between certain virtues and vices, and the methods in which vice openly assaults, or secretly undermines virtue, and virtue resists.

The time appointed for labour must be narrowly examined, or, as you may conceive, since only six hours are appropriated thereto, a scarcity of the necessaries of life might ensue. But this time is so far from being insufficient for supplying them with necessaries and conveniencies, that part of it is superfluous, as you may apprehend by considering how large a proportion of all other nations is totally idle.

In the first place, women generally do little, and they are half of mankind; and if a few women be diligent, their husbands are idle. Then consider the great number of idle priests, and what are called religious persons. Add to these the rich, those chiefly who have landed property, called noblemen and gentlemen, with their families of idle persons, kept for show rather than use. Then add those strong and lusty beggars who go about pretending disease in extenuation of begging. On the whole, you will find that the number of those, by whose labour mankind is supplied, is much smaller than you imagine.

Next, consider how few of those who work are employed in labours of real utility. For we, who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades which are vain and superfluous, and which serve only to support riot and luxury. If the labouring part of mankind were employed only on the necessaries of life, these would so abound, that their price would fall, and the tradesman could not be maintained. But if all they who labour in useless avocations were more profitably employed, and all they who languish out their lives in idleness and sloth (each of whom consumeth as much as two of the laborious), were compelled to labour, you may readily conceive, that little time would accomplish all that is necessary, profitable, or agreeable to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within due bounds.

This is proved in Utopia. For there, in a large city, and

in all the territory about it, you can scarcely find 500 either men or women, who, from their age and strength, are capable of labour, and are not engaged in it. The very syphogrants, though excused by law, excuse not themselves, but work that their example may incite the industry of the rest. A similar exemption is allowed to those who are recommended to the people by the priests, and privileged from labour by the private suffrages of the syphogrants, that they may devote themselves wholly to study. But if any of them fall short of the hopes they seemed to give, they are obliged to return to manual labour. And sometimes a mechanic, who so employs his leisure as to advance considerably in learning, is raised to the rank of one of their learned. From these they choose their ambassadors, priests, tranibors, and the prince himself, formerly called their Barzanes, but of late their Ademus.

Thus, from the number among them who are neither suffered to be idle nor to be uselessly employed, you may estimate how much may be done in their few hours of labour. But beside this, we are to remember that the useful arts are managed with less labour among them than elsewhere. The building or repair of houses employeth many hands with us. For a thriftless heir often suffers the house his father built to fall into decay, and his successor is at great cost to repair what might have been kept up at small expence. It often happens too, that the house which one person built at a great expence, is neglected by another who thinks he hath better taste in architecture, and, let-

ting it go to ruin, builds another at no less expence. But among the Utopians, all is so regulated, that they seldom require new building-ground. They not only repair their houses with great expedition, but shew much skill in preventing their decay; and their buildings are preserved very long with little labour. Thus too, their builders are often without employment, except in hewing timber and squaring stone, in case of wanting to raise a building on a sudden emergency.

As for their clothes, observe how little labour is spent on them. While at work, they wear loose dresses of leather and skins, which will last seven years. When they appear in public, they put on an upper garment which hides the other. These garments are all of one colour, the natural one of the wool. They need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, and what they use is much less costly. Of linen cloth they use more, but it is made with less labour; and they value cloth only from the whiteness of the linen or cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread. While in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colours, and as many silken vests, are hardly sufficient, and while the nicer sort think ten too few, here every man is content with one, which often lasteth him two years. Nor is there any temptation to desire more; for no man would be the warmer, nor make one jot the better appearance for them.

Thus, employed in useful labour, and content with little,

abundance of all things prevaileth among them. It frequently happens indeed, that for want of other work, numbers of them are sent out to repair the highways. But when no public call requires their attendance, the hours of labour are curtailed. The magistrates never impose unnecessary labour on the people. For, the chief end of the constitution is, to regulate labour by the public wants, and to allow all as much time as possible for mental improvement, in which they judge the happiness of life to consist.

But it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce and regulations.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those who are nearly related to each other. Their women, as they grow up, are married into other families. But the males, children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to the common parent; unless age hath weakened his understanding, and then the next in age supplieth his place. But due care is taken that no city become too populous, or be dispeopled. No city may contain above 6000 families beside those of the circumjacent country. And no family may have less than ten, or more than sixteen, persons in it; without any limitation for the children under age. This rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple to a less abundant family.

In the same way, they supply cities which increase not so fast, from others which people themselves faster. And if there be any extraordinary increase over the whole island, they select a number of citizens from the several towns, and send them to the neighbouring continent. Where, if they find the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they plant a colony and take them into their society. And if these inhabitants be willing to live with them, enter into their mode of life, and conform to their regulations, it proveth a happiness to both; for by their laws such care is taken of the soil, that it becometh fruitful enough for both, although it might have been insufficient for either. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of the boundary which they mark for themselves, and use violence if they resist. They esteem a very just warfare, the dispossession of others from soil which they leave idle and uncultivated; every man having a natural right to such a waste portion of earth, when necessary to his subsistence.

If any accident so lessen the number of inhabitants in a town that it cannot be supplied from the other towns of the island without diminishing them too much (which is said to have happened but twice since they were a people, and then by the plague), it is made-up by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies. For they abandon these rather than suffer the towns in the island to be deficient.

But to return to their manner of living. The oldest man of every family, as already said, presides in it. Wives obey their husbands, and children their parents, junior ever serving senior. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each is a market-place. What is manufactured by the several families and brought thither, is carried to houses appointed for that purpose. In these, all things of one kind are laid together, and every father goeth thither and taketh whatever he or his family need, without paying for it, or leaving any exchange. There is no reason for giving any one a denial, since they have such plenty of all things. And there is no danger of any one asking for more than he needeth; for, being sure they shall alway be supplied, they have no inducement of the kind.

It is the fear of want which rendereth any animal greedy or ravenous. And beside this fear, there is a pride in man which maketh him esteem it a glory to excel his fellow-creature in pomp and excess. The laws of Utopia leave no room for these feelings.

Near these markets, are others for every kind of provision. Here are herbs, fruits, bread, fish, fowl, and cattle. Without their towns, are appointed places, near a running stream, for killing their beasts, which is done by their slaves. They allow none of the citizens to kill their cattle, thinking that pity and good nature (which are among the best of the affections born in us) are greatly impaired by butchering animals. Nor do they suffer any thing foul or

unclean to be brought into their towns, lest the air be infected with ill scents which might injure their health.

In every street are spacious halls, lying at equal distances from each other, and distinguished by particular names. The syphogrants dwell in them, with their thirty respective families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other; and here they meet and hold their repasts. The steward of each goeth to the market at an appointed hour, and taketh home provision according to the number belonging to his hall.

But they take the greatest care of their sick; who are lodged and provided-for in public hospitals. They have four of these to every town, built without the walls, and so spacious, that they are like little towns. By this mean, had they ever so many sick, they could lodge them conveniently, and so far apart, that no apprehension of infection could arise from those labouring under contagious disorders. The hospitals are provided with every thing necessary for the ease and restoration of the sick. And the patients are looked after with such tenderness and solicitude, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians, that as none are sent thither against their inclinations, so is there scarcely one person in a whole town, who, should he be taken ill, would not choose rather to go thither than lie at home.

When the steward of the hospitals hath taken for the

sick whatever the physician prescribes, the best things left in the market are distributed to the halls in proportion to their numbers; first serving the prince, the chief priest, the tranibors, ambassadors, and strangers, if any among them. The last indeed seldom happens; yet have they well furnished houses, particularly appointed for their reception when they come.

At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole syphogranty being assembled by trumpet, they meet and eat together, excepting only those who are in the hospitals or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are supplied, no man is hindered from carrying home provision from the market-place, for they know that no one doth it except for some good reason. For, though any one who pleaseth may eat at home, no one doth it from inclination, it being absurd to prepare a bad dinner at home, when a much more plentiful one is ready for him so near his residence.

The unpleasant and sordid services about these halls, are performed by their slaves. But dressing their meat and ordering their tables belong to the women, every family taking it by rotation. They sit at three or more tables according to their number, the men toward the wall, the women on the outside. Thus, if any of the women be taken suddenly ill (which is not uncommon when they are in a state of pregnancy), she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nursery, where are nurses with the unweaned infants, clean water, cradles, and a fire.

Every child is nursed by its own mother, unless death or sickness prevent. In that case the syphogrants' wives quickly provide a nurse, which is no difficulty, as any woman who can do it, offereth herself cheerfully. And, to make her amends, the child she nurseth considereth her as its mother.

The children under five sit among the nurses. The other young of either sex, until marriageable, serve those who sit at table, or, if unequal to that in strength, stand by them in silence and eat what is given them. Nor have they any other particular form at their dinners.

In the middle of the first table, which standeth across the upper end of the hall, sit the syphogrant and his wife, that being the most conspicuous place. Next to him sit two of the oldest, there being throughout four in a mess. If there be a temple within that syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the syphogrant above the rest. Next to them come a mixture of old and young, so distributed, that though near to others of their own age, they are mingled with the elders. This, they say, was so instituted, that the gravity of the old, and the respect due to them, might restrain the young from all indecent words and gestures.

The dishes are not served to the whole table at first, but the best are set before the old (whose seats are distinguished from the young), and after them all the rest are served

alike. The elders distribute to the young any choice meats which happen to be set before them, if there be not such an abundance of them that the whole company may share them alike. Thus the aged are honoured with particular marks of respect, and yet all the rest fare as well as they do.

Dinner, as well as supper, is begun with some moral lecture which is read to them, but which is so short that it cannot be deemed tedious. Hence, the old take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and amusing amplifications. Yet they engross not the whole conversation, but rather engage the young in it, that they may discover their spirit and temper. They dispatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper, for they go to work after the one, and sleep after the other; and sleep they think promotes digestion. They never sup without music, and fruit is ever served up after their meat. While they are at table, perfumes are burned, and fragrant ointments and sweet waters sprinkled about the room. In short, they want nothing which may cheer their spirits; and allow themselves great latitude this way, indulging in every pleasure which is unattended with inconvenient consequences.

Thus live the inhabitants of the towns. In the country, where they live at considerable distances asunder, every one eats at home, and no family is without necessary provision; for from them are sent provisions to those living in the towns.

If any person have a mind to visit his friends in another town, or desire to travel and see the rest of the country, he easily obtains leave from the syphogrant and tranibors, when he is not wanted at home. A traveller carries a passport from the prince, which certifies the liberty granted him, and the time of his return. He is furnished with a waggon, and a slave to drive and attend the oxen. Unless there be women in the company, the waggon is sent back at the end of the journey as a useless incumbrance. They carry no provision with them for the road, yet want nothing, being everywhere treated as if at home.

If any one stay in a strange place longer than a day, he pursueth his proper occupation, and is very well used by his fellow tradesmen. But if he leave his own city without permission, and be found rambling without a passport, he is treated with severity, punished as a fugitive, and sent home in disgrace; and if he commit the same offence again, he is condemned to slavery. If any one have a mind to travel merely over the district of his own city, he may freely do it, with his father's permission and his wife's consent. But, if he expect to be entertained at any of the country houses, he must labour with them and conform to their rules. And if he do this, he may freely traverse the whole district, being thus as useful to his city as if he was in it.

Thus you see, there are no idle people among them, nor any pretences for excusing any individual from labour. They have no taverns, ale-houses, or brothels, nor any other

mediums of corruption, of gathering in corners, or forming parties. All live in full view, and all are obliged to do their duty and employ well their leisure. And it is certain, that a nation thus regulated must enjoy great abundance of all things; which being equally distributed, no one can want or be obliged to beg.

At their great council at Amaurot (to which three from every town are sent yearly), they examine what towns abound in provisions, and in which is any scarcity; that the one may be supplied from the other. And this is done without any exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity, they supply or are supplied, so that the whole island is, as it were, one family.

When they have thus taken care of their country, and laid up store for two years (which they do to prevent the ill consequences of a bad season), they order an exportation of the overplus of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather, and cattle. These they commonly ship abroad in large quantities, and order a seventh to be given to the poor of those countries, and the rest to be sold at moderate prices. By this mean, they not only import in return the few things they want at home (for indeed they scarcely want any thing beside iron), but also a large quantity of gold and silver; and it is hardly to be imagined how vast a treasure they have amassed, by driving this trade a long time. So that it is now almost indifferent to them whether they sell their goods for ready money or on credit.

A great part of their property is in bonds; but in their contracts, no individual is bound, but a whole town. These towns collect it from their individual debtors, lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the use of it till the Utopians call for it; who prefer leaving the greater part of it in the hands of those who make advantage of it, to calling for it themselves. But if they see that any others stand more in need of it, they call it in and lend it to them.

Whenever they engage in war, which is the only occasion on which this treasure can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves. On great emergencies, or sudden accidents, they employ it in hiring foreign troops; whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people. They pay these mercenaries extravagantly, well knowing the effect it will have, even on their enemies; that it will induce them to betray or desert, and is the best mean of raising mutual jealousies among them. With this view they keep an incredible treasure, which they value not as such, but place it in a light I am almost afraid of describing; for, had I not seen it myself, I could not have believed it.

All things appear incredible to us, as they differ more or less from our own manners. Yet one who can judge aright will not wonder, that since their constitution differeth so materially from ours, their value of gold and silver also, should be measured by a very different standard. Having no use for money among themselves, but keeping it as a

provision against events which seldom happen, and between which are generally long intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. Thus it is plain, they must prefer iron to either silver or gold. For we want iron nearly as much as fire and water, but nature hath marked out no use so essential for the other metals, that they may not easily be dispensed with. Man's folly hath enhanced the value of gold and silver because of their scarcity; whereas nature, like a kind parent, hath freely given us the best things, such as air, earth, and water, but hath hidden from us those which are vain and useless.

Were these metals to be laid-up in a tower, it would give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, and create suspicion that the prince and senate designed to sacrifice the public interest to their own advantage. Should they work them into vessels or other articles, they fear that the people might grow too fond of plate, and be unwilling to melt it again, if a war made it necessary. To prevent all these inconveniencies, they have fallen upon a plan, which agrees with their other policy, but is very different from ours; and which will hardly gain belief among us who value gold so much and lay it up so carefully.

They eat and drink from earthen ware or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though they be of little value; while their chamber-pots and close-stools are made of gold and silver; and this not only in their public halls, but in

their private houses. Of the same metals they also make chains and fetters for their slaves; on some of whom, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal. And thus they take care, by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem. Hence it is, that while other countries part with these metals as though one tore-out their bowels, the Utopians would look upon giving-in all they had of them, when occasion required, as parting only with a trifle, or as we should esteem the loss of a penny.

They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks. They seek them not, but if they find them by chance, they polish them and give them to their children for ornaments, who delight in them during their childhood. But when they come to years of discretion, and see that none but children use such baubles, they lay them aside of their own accord; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterward, as grown children among us would be of their toys.

I never saw a more remarkable instance of the opposite impressions which different manners make on people, than I observed in the Anemolian ambassadors, who came to Amaurot when I was there. Coming to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several cities met to await their coming. The ambassadors of countries lying near Utopia, knowing their manners,—that fine clothes are in no esteem with them, that silk is despised, and gold a

badge of infamy,—came very modestly clothed. But the Anemolians, who lie at a greater distance, having had little intercourse with them, understanding they were coarsely clothed and all in one dress, took it for granted that they had none of that finery among them, of which they made no use. Being also themselves a vain-glorious rather than a wise people, they resolved on this occasion to assume their grandest appearance, and astonish the poor Utopians with their splendour.

Thus three ambassadors made their entry with 100 attendants, all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in silk. The ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in clothes of gold, adorned with massy chains and rings of gold. Their caps were covered with bracelets, thickly set with pearls and other gems. In a word, they were decorated in those very things, which, among the Utopians, are either badges of slavery, marks of infamy, or play-things for children.

It was pleasant to behold, on one side, how big they looked in comparing their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who came out in great numbers to see them make their entry; and on the other, how much they were mistaken in the impression which they expected this pomp would have made. The sight appeared so ridiculous to those who had not seen the customs of other countries, that, though they respected such as were meanly clad (as if they had been the ambassadors), when they saw the am-

bassadors themselves, covered with gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and shewed them no respect. You might have heard children, who had thrown away their jewels, cry to their mothers, *see that great fool, wearing pearls and gems as if he was yet a child;* and the mothers as innocently replying, *peace, this must be one of the ambassador's fools.*

Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed, they were of no use. For their slaves could easily break them; and they hung so loosely, that they thought it easy to throw them away. But when the ambassadors had been a day among them, and had seen the vast quantity of gold in their houses, as much despised by them as esteemed by others; when they beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave, than in all their ornaments; their crests fell, they were ashamed of their glory, and laid it aside; a resolution which they took, in consequence of engaging in free conversation with the Utopians, and discovering their sense of these things, and their other customs.

The Utopians wonder that any man should be so enamoured of the lustre of a jewel, when he can behold a star or the sun; or that he should value himself upon his cloth being made of a finer thread. For, however fine this thread, it was once the fleece of a sheep, which remained a sheep notwithstanding it wore it.

They marvel much to hear, that gold, in itself so useless, should be everywhere so much sought, that even men, for whom it was made, and by them hath its value, should be less esteemed. That a stupid fellow, with no more sense than a log, and as base as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him because he possesseth a heap of it. And that, should an accident, or a law-quirk (which sometimes produceth as great changes as chance herself), pass this wealth from the master to his meanest slave, he would soon become the servant of the other, as if he was an appendage of his wealth, and bound to follow it.

But they much more wonder at and detest the folly of those, who, when they see a rich man, though they owe him nothing, and are not in the least dependent on his bounty, are ready to pay him divine honours because he is rich; even though they know him at the same time to be so covetous and mean-spirited, that notwithstanding all his wealth, he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he liveth.

These and the like notions hath this people imbibed, partly from education (being bred in a country whose laws and customs oppose such follies) and partly from their studies. For though there be few in any town, who are so wholly excused from labour, as to devote themselves entirely to study (these being such only as from their infancy discover an extraordinary capacity and disposition for let-

ters), yet their children, and many of their grown persons of both sexes, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading. And this they do through their lives.

All their learning is in their own language, which is copious and pleasant, admitting of the fullest expression of ideas. It is spoken over a vast tract of country, but is not equally pure everywhere. They had not even heard the names of any of those philosophers who are so celebrated in these parts of the world, before we went among them; yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry.

Equal in almost every thing to the ancient philosophers, they greatly excel our modern logicians; for they have never yet fallen into those barbarous subtleties which youth are obliged to learn in our trifling logical schools. They, nevertheless know astronomy, and have many excellent instruments for ascertaining the course and position of the heavenly bodies. But as for divining by the stars, their oppositions or conjunctions, this hath never entered their thoughts.

They have particular skill, founded on much observation, in judging of the weather; and know when to expect rain, wind, or other changes. But as for the philosophy of these things, the saltness of the sea, its ebb and flow, and the original and nature of the earth and heavens, they dis-

pute of them, partly in the manner of our ancient philosophers, and partly on new hypotheses; in which they not only differ from them, but agree not entirely among themselves.

In regard to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes as we have. They examine what is properly good for the body and mind, and whether any thing external can be called truly good, or if that term be appropriate to the soul. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure. But their chief dispute is concerning man's happiness, and wherein it consists, whether in one thing or in many. They incline indeed to the opinion which placeth, if not the whole, yet a great part of human happiness in pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they derive arguments from religion, notwithstanding her restrictions, in support of that opinion. For they never dispute of happiness, without drawing arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason; esteeming all our inquiries after happiness but conjectural and defective without the former.

Their religious tenets are these. The soul of man is immortal,—God of his goodness hath designed it should be happy; he hath therefore appointed reward for virtue and punishment for vice, after this life. Though these principles be handed down to them traditionally, they think reason herself determineth man to believe and acknowledge them; and that, were they removed, no man would be so

insensible as not to seek pleasure by all possible means, lawful or otherwise; taking care only, that a less pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that none ought to be pursued which should incur much pain. For they deem it the excess of madness to pursue virtue, a sour and difficult pursuit, and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, without a prospect of reward. And what reward can there be for one who hath passed his life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there be no expectation after death?

Yet they place not happiness in every kind of pleasure, but in that only which is honest and good. One party among them placeth happiness barely in virtue; another thinketh our nature is conducted by virtue to happiness, as man's chief good. They define virtue, *living according to nature*, and think we are created for that end. They believe man to follow nature when he followeth reason; and say that the first dictate of reason is love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe all we have and all we can hope for.

Secondly, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion, and as cheerful as we can; and that we should consider ourselves bound by the ties of good-nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavours in promoting the happiness of others. For no one was ever so severe a pursuer of virtue and enemy to pleasure, that though he

prescribed hard rules, pain, watchings, and other rigours, yet did not at the same time advise men to do all they could in relieving misery; and who did not represent gentleness and good-nature as amiable dispositions. Hence they infer, that if man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of his fellow-creatures, since no virtue is more peculiar to our nature than to relieve the misery of others, and to furnish them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists, nature will more strongly incline him to do this for himself.

A life of pleasure is either a real evil (in which case we ought not to assist others in the pursuit of it, but deter them from it); or, if it be a good, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why should not man begin with himself? No man can be bound to look more after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be kind to others and at the same time cruel to ourselves. Thus, they define virtue to be, *living according to nature*, and imagine that nature prompts all to seek pleasure as the chief end of their actions.

They also observe, that to support the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to society. For no man is so much raised above his fellows, as to be nature's only favourite; on the contrary, she seems to have placed on a level all who belong to one species. Hence they infer, that no one ought to seek his own convenience to the prejudice of others; and therefore think, that not only all agreements between

individuals ought to be observed, but likewise the laws which either a good prince hath publicly enacted, or to which a people, neither oppressed by tyranny, nor circumvented by fraud, hath agreed, for rendering us the conveniencies of life in which our pleasures consist.

They think it a proof of wisdom if man pursue his own advantage as far as the law alloweth him. They also account it piety to prefer the public good to individual interest; but esteem it unjust for man to pursue his own pleasure to the detriment of that of his neighbour. On the contrary, they deem it a mark of a good and gentle soul, if he dispense with his own advantage for the benefit of others; and that, by this mean, a good man reapeth as much pleasure as he deprives himself of. For, he may expect the like when he needeth it; and should that fail, yet the sense of a good action, and his reflections on the love and gratitude of those he hath obliged, afford the mind greater pleasure than the body would have experienced in the enjoyment of that which it withstood. They are also persuaded that God will repay the loss of those small pleasures with a vast and endless joy; a circumstance of which religion easily convinceth a good soul.

Thus, on a general inquiry, they esteem all our actions, and even all our virtues, to terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teacheth us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they carefully limit

pleasure to those appetites only to which nature leadeth; for she leadeth, they say, to those delights only, to which sense as well as reason point, by which we neither injure another, lose not greater pleasures, nor superinduce inconveniencies. But they look upon those delights which men, by a foolish, though common mistake, call pleasure (as if they could change the nature of things as easily as terms), as greatly obstructing instead of advancing their real happiness. For these so entirely possess the minds once captivated by them with false notions of pleasure, that no room is left for that of a truer and purer kind.

There are many things having nothing in themselves truly delightful, but on the contrary much bitterness, which yet, from our perverse appetites for forbidden objects, we not only rank among the pleasures, but make them the greatest designs of life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, the Utopians reckon such as I mentioned before, who imagine themselves really the better for having fine clothes. In this they think them doubly mistaken, as well in the opinion they have of their clothes, as in that they have of themselves. For if you consider the *use* of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they enjoyed real advantages above others, and did not owe them to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves more valuable, imagine a respect to be due them on account of a rich coat, to which they would not have pretended had

they been more meanly clad, and even resent it as an affront if that respect be not shewn them.

But it is not equal folly to be solicitous about outward marks of respect, which signify nothing? For what real pleasure can a man find in seeing another take off his hat and make bows to him? Will the bending another's knee give ease to yours; or the uncovering his head cure the madness of thine? Nevertheless, it is wonderful to see how this false idea of pleasure bewitcheth many. How they delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with the conceit of having ancestors who have been deemed for some successions rich,—for this is all that at present constitutes nobility. Yet they consider not themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents bequeathed none of this wealth to them, or though themselves have squandered it all.

The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are enamoured of gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness almost divine if they can purchase a *very extraordinary* one, especially if it be of the sort then in fashion. For the same sort doth not alway bear the same value with them, and none are bought without being taken out of the setting. The jeweller is then required to find security, and to swear solemnly that the stone is a true one. Yet if you saw them, your eye could discover no difference between the counterfeit and the true; and there-

fore the pleasure they afford you is the same, as much as if you were blind.

Moreover, can it be thought that they who amass wealth, not for any service it is to do them, but to please themselves with the contemplation of it, derive any true pleasure from it? The delight they find is a vain shadow of joy. Nor is the pleasure of those better, though their mistake be somewhat different, who hide wealth for fear of losing it. For what other name than mistake, deserves the hiding it in the earth, or rather restoring it to earth again; since it is thus cut off from being useful either to its owner or the rest of mankind? And yet the owner, having hidden it carefully, rejoiceth because he thinks he is now sure of it. Should it be stolen, and he live ten years in ignorance of the theft, he would be no sufferer, for in either case it was equally useless to him.

Among these foolish pursuers of pleasure also, they reckon all who delight in sporting or gaming; of whose madness they have heard, but have no such persons among them. They inquired of us, what pleasure it was that men found in throwing dice; for was there any, they think the frequent repetition of it would create a surfeit. What pleasure, they likewise asked, can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem odious rather than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing a dog run after a hare, to be greater than that of seeing one dog run after another. For, if seeing them run

giveth the pleasure, you have the same entertainment in either case. But if the pleasure consist in seeing the hare torn by the dogs, it ought rather to excite pity, that a weak, harmless, timid hare, should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs.

On this account, all the business of hunting is, by the Utopians, transferred to their butchers, who, as hath been observed, are all slaves; and they esteem hunting one of the basest of a butcher's employments. For they account it more profitable and becoming to kill the beasts which are more useful to man; since the tearing so miserable an animal, can only attract the huntsman by a false shew of pleasure, from which he can reap little advantage. The desire of shedding the blood even of beasts, they esteem the mark of a mind already corrupted with cruelty; or at least, that the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure, must degenerate into such a disposition.

Thus, though the mass of mankind esteem these, and many other things of like nature, pleasures, the Utopians, seeing there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude they are not to be reckoned among pleasures. For though these things may afford the senses a degree of irritation (which appears to be a just idea of pleasure), yet they imagine this ariseth not from the thing itself, but from a depraved habit, which may so far vitiate taste, that bitter shall appear sweet. Thus pregnant women may imagine pitch or tallow to be sweeter than honey. But as the senses,

though themselves corrupted by disease or bad habit, change not the nature of things, so neither can they change the nature of pleasure.

The Utopians count many pleasures true ones, some of them bodily, others mental. Those of the mind, consist in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth affords. To these they add the joyful reflections of a well spent life, and the assured hopes of happiness in a future state.

Bodily pleasures, they divide into two kinds. One kind, is the pleasure afforded our senses by recruiting nature, as by eating and drinking; or relieving her when she is surcharged, oppressed, or in pain; or gratifying the appetite which she hath implanted in us for her own end, the continuation of our species. There is also another kind of pleasure, which ariseth neither from recruiting nor relieving nature, yet doth it, by a furtive virtue, affect the senses, raise the passions, and make generous impressions on the mind; this is the pleasure arising from music.

The other kind of bodily pleasure, is that arising from a vigorous consitution of body, in which life and spirit seem to invigorate every part. This high degree of health of itself affordeth pleasure, independently of external objects of delight; and though it may not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, it may be esteemed the greatest pleasure of all. Almost all

the Utopians reckon it the foundation of all the other joys of life; since it alone maketh life easy and desirable, and without it, man is in reality capable of no other pleasure.

They look upon freedom from pain, if unaccompanied by perfect health, a state of dullness rather than of pleasure. This subject hath been narrowly investigated among them, and it hath been questioned whether complete health could be called a pleasure or not. Some have thought that there was no pleasure which was not sensibly excited in the body. But this opinion hath been long ago exploded among the Utopians, so that now they almost universally agree, health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures. There being pain in sickness (which pain is as opposite in its nature to pleasure, as sickness itself is to health), they hold that health is accompanied by pleasure. Should any contend, that sickness is not in reality pain, but only carries pain with it, they esteem that a subtilty which little altereth the matter.

It is the same thing in their opinion, whether it be said that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begetteth a pleasure as fire giveth heat, provided it be granted, that all those whose health is entire have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it. They reason thus. What is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health, which had been weakened, doth, by the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and recruiting itself, recovereth its vigour; and being thus refreshed, it findeth pleasure in the conflict. And if the

conflict be pleasure, the victory must be still more so, unless we imagine it becomes stupid so soon as it hath gained its object, and neither knoweth nor rejoiceth in its own welfare. If it be said, *health cannot be felt*, they absolutely deny this; for what man in health doth not perceive he is so, whenever he is awake? Is any man so dull, as not to acknowledge he feeleth delight in health; and what is delight but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those which proceed from the mind to be the most valuable; the chief of which spring from virtue and the testimony of a good conscience.

Health they account the chief pleasure appertaining to the body. For they think the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all other sensual delights, to be only so far desirable as they contribute to this; nor otherwise pleasant in themselves, than as they resist the inroads of our natural infirmities. For, as a wise man desireth rather to avoid illness than take physic, and to be free from pain rather than find relief from remedies, so is it more desirable not to need this kind of pleasure than be obliged to indulge it.

If any man imagine there to be a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must confess that he would be the happiest man living if he was perpetually hungry, thirsty, and itching, and therefore perpetually eating, drinking, and scratch-

ing; which any one may easily perceive would be not only a base but a miserable state of existence. These are indeed the lowest pleasures and the least pure; for we can never relish them but when mixed with the contrary pains. It is the pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating, and as it is greater, so lasts it longer than the pleasure. For it begins before it, ceases only with the pleasure which extinguisheth it, and both expire together.

They therefore think, that none of those pleasures are to be valued farther than as they are necessary. Yet they rejoice in them, and gratefully acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of Nature, who hath given us appetites, which make the things necessary for our preservation also agreeable to us. How miserable would life be, if the daily complaints of hunger and thirst must be relieved by such bitter drugs, as we must use for those disorders which come seldomer upon us! But as it is, these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature, preserve the strength and sprightliness of our bodies.

They also delight in the pleasures of sight, hearing, and smell, as the agreeable relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man. For no other animal contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe, is delighted with smells farther than as they distinguish meats, or apprehendeth the concord and discord of sounds. Yet in all pleasures whatever, they take care that a less one shall not prevent a greater, and that pleasure

shall never breed pain; which last they think ever followeth dishonest pleasures.

They esteem it madness in man to wear-out the beauty of his face, or his natural strength, to corrupt his body by sloth and laziness, or waste it by fasting, to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life, unless, by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others, for which he expecteth a greater recompence from God. Thus, they look on such a course of life, as the mark of a mind cruel to itself and ungrateful to the Author of Nature; as if we would not be indebted to him for his favours, and therefore reject his blessings; as if we would afflict ourselves for the mere empty show of virtue, or for no better end than to render ourselves capable of bearing those misfortunes which perhaps may never happen.

These are their notions of virtue and pleasure; and they think no man's reason can lead him to a truer idea of them, unless he be inspired. I have not leisure at present to examine whether they be right or wrong, nor is this incumbent upon me, having only undertaken to describe their constitution to you, and not to defend all their principles. Of this I am certain,—whatever be said of their notions, there exists not in the world a better people or a happier government.

Their bodies are vigorous and lively: Though they be

but of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfulest soil nor the purest air in the world, they fortify themselves so well by their temperate lives against the unhealthiness of the air, and by their industry so cultivate their soil, that you shall nowhere see a greater increase both of corn and cattle. Nor are there anywhere healthier men. You may there see practised, not only all the husbandman's art of manuring and improving a bad soil, but whole woods torn up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted; that their timber may be near their towns, or near water to float it, the carriage of wood overland being more laborious than that of corn.

They are industrious, apt scholars, and cheerful and pleasant companions. None can endure more labour when it is necessary, but unless that be the case they love ease. Their pursuit of knowledge is indefatigable. When we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks (of whom alone we instructed them, for we knew there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and poets, that they would much esteem), it was strange to see with what avidity they set about learning that language. We read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than from any hope of their reaping much advantage by it. But after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that our labour was likely to be much more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write the character and pronounce the language so well, had such quick apprehensions

and faithful memories, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have been miraculous, had not the greater part of those we taught been men of extraordinary capacity, and of a proper age for instruction. They were most of them selected among the learned men, by their chief council; though some learned it of their own accord. In three years they became masters of the language, and could read the best Greek authors.

Indeed, I am inclined to think they learned the language more easily, from its having some analogy to their own. For I believe they were a colony of Greeks; and though their language more nearly resemble the Persian, they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, which are of Greek derivation. I happened to take out a large number of books, instead of merchandize, when I made my fourth voyage. For, so far from expecting to return so soon, I rather thought I should never return; and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works. I had also Theophrastus on plants, which to my great regret was imperfect; for, having allowed it to lay-about while we were at sea, a monkey had found it and torn out many of the leaves. They have no grammarians, except Lascares, as I brought not Theodorus with me; and no dictionaries except Hesychius and Dioscorides. They highly esteem Plutarch, and were much taken with Lucian's wit, and his pleasant way of writing. Of the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and the Aldine edition of So-

phocles; and of historians, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian.

My companion, Apinatus, happened to take with him some of Hippocrates' works, and Galen's Microtechne, which they hold in high esteem; for though no nation on earth needeth physic less than they do, yet none honoureth it more. They reckon this knowledge one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy; as it searcheth the secrets of nature, is highly agreeable in the pursuit, and probably acceptable to the Author of our being. Who (like the ingenious mechanic among men) having exposed this grand machine of the universe, to the view of the only creature capable of contemplating it, they imagine that an exact and curious observer who admireth his work, is far more acceptable to him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looketh on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

Their minds thus filled with a love of learning, they are very ingenious in the discovery of all those arts which are necessary to its promotion. Two of these they owe to us, the manufacture of paper, and the art of printing. Yet are they not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries, but that a great part of the invention was their own. We shewed them some books printed by Aldus, and explained to them the process of paper-making and printing; but having never practised these arts ourselves, we described them very superficially. They seized the hints we gave

them; and though they could not immediately arrive at perfection, yet by repeated essays they discovered and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Formerly they wrote only on parchment, reeds, or the bark of trees. Now they have established paper-manufactures and printing-presses; and, had they but a good number of Greek authors, they would quickly be supplied with many copies of them. At present they have only those I mentioned, yet have they, by repeated impressions, multiplied them to many thousand.

If any man went thither who professed some extraordinary talent, or who by much travelling had observed the customs of many countries (which gained us so good a reception), he would have a hearty welcome; for they are very desirous of knowing the state of the whole world. Few go among them to trade, for what can they bring them except iron, gold, or silver, which merchants like to keep at home. Their exportation they prefer managing themselves, to leaving it to foreigners; for by this mean they better understand the state of foreign markets and keep up a knowledge of navigation, which is not maintained without much practice.

They make no slaves of prisoners of war, except of those who are taken in battle; nor of the sons of their own slaves, or of those of other countries. Their slaves are such only, as are condemned to that state for some crime; or (which is more common) such as their merchants find con-

demned to death in countries whither they trade, whom they often ransom at low rates, and sometimes obtain them gratis. They are employed in perpetual labour, and are ever chained. Their natives are treated much more severely than others, being considered as more profligate than the rest; and, since the advantages of so excellent an education were insufficient, they are judged worthy of harder usage.

Another kind of slaves, are the poor of neighbouring countries, who offer spontaneously to serve them. They treat these better; and use them in every respect as well as their own countrymen, except that they impose more labour upon them, which is no hardship to those who have been accustomed to it. And if any of them desire to return to their own country (which indeed seldom happeneth) they neither force them to stay nor send them away empty-handed.

I have already related to you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone which may contribute either to their health or ease. And as for those who are afflicted with incurable disorders, they use all possible means of cherishing them, and of making their lives as comfortable as possible; they visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass easily. But if any have torturing, lingering pain, without hope of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates repair to them and exhort them, since they are unable to proceed with the busi-

ness of life, are become a burden to themselves and all about them, and have in reality outlived themselves, they should no longer cherish a rooted disease, but choose to die since they cannot live but in great misery; being persuaded, if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or allow others to do it, they shall be happy after death. Since they forfeit none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life by this, they think they not only act reasonably, but consistently with religion; for they follow the advice of their priests, the expounders of God's will.

Those who are wrought upon by these persuasions, either starve themselves or take laudanum. But no one is compelled to end his life thus; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, the former care and attendance on them is continued. And though they esteem a voluntary death, when chosen on such authority, to be very honourable, on the contrary, if any one commit suicide without the concurrence of the priests and senate, they honour not the body with a decent funeral, but throw it into a ditch.

Their women are not allowed to marry before eighteen, and their men not before twenty-two. If any of them be guilty of unlawful intercourse before marriage, they are severely punished, and they are not allowed to marry unless they can obtain an especial warrant from the prince. Such disorderly conduct also bringeth a severe reproach on the master and mistress of the family in which it happened; for it is concluded that they have been negligent in their

duty. Their reason for punishing this so severely is, because they think, were they not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state, in which they hazard the peace of their whole lives by being tied to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniencies with which that state is accompanied.

In matching, they adopt a plan which appears to us very extravagant, yet is constantly observed among them and accounted very wise. Before marriage, a grave matron presenteth the bride (be she virgin or widow) naked, to the bridegroom; and after that, some grave man presenteth the bridegroom naked to the bride. We laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. They, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of mankind in all other countries; who, if they buy but an inferior horse, examine him all over and take off his trappings; yet a wife, on whom dependeth the happiness of the remainder of life, they take upon trust, regarding only her face, and leaving the rest of her body covered, where contagious and loathsome disorders may lie concealed. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even the wise consider the body as adding not a little to the mind. It is certain the clothes may conceal some deformity which may alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part with her. If such a thing be discovered after marriage, he hath no remedy but patience. They therefore think it reasonable, that good care should be taken to guard against such mischievous deception.

There was the more reason for this regulation among them, because they are the only people of those parts who allow not polygamy or divorce, except in case of adultery or insufferable perverseness. In these cases the senate dissolveth the marriage, and granteth the injured leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous and never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. No one is suffered to put away his wife against her inclination, on account of any misfortune which may have befallen her person. They esteem it the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married pair, when they most need the tenderness of their partner; especially in the case of old age, which bringeth many diseases with it, and is itself a disease. But it often happens, that, when a married pair do not agree, they separate by mutual consent, and find others with whom they hope to live more happily. Yet this is not done without leave from the senate, which never alloweth a divorce without a strict inquiry, by the senators and their wives, into the grounds on which it is desired. Even when they are satisfied as to the reasons of it, the matter proceedeth but slowly, for they are persuaded that a too ready permission of new marriages, would greatly impair the kind intercourse of the married.

They severely punish those who defile the marriage-bed. If both the offenders be married, they are divorced, and the injured may intermarry, or with whom else they please; but the adulterer and adultress are condemned to slavery. Yet if the injured cannot conquer the love of the offender,

they may still live together, the partner following to the labour to which the slave is condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, and the unaltered kindness of the injured, have prevailed with the prince to take off the sentence. But who relapse after they are once pardoned, are punished with death.

Their law determineth not the punishment of other crimes, it being left to the senate to fix it according to the circumstances of the case. Husbands are allowed to correct their wives, and parents their children, unless the offence be so great that public punishment is thought necessary for the sake of example. Slavery is generally the punishment, even of the greatest crimes; for it is no less terrible to the criminals than death, and they deem the preservation of them in servitude to be more for the interest of the state than killing them. Their labour is more beneficial to the public than their death could be; and the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to others, than that of their death.

If their slaves will not bear their yoke nor submit to the labour prescribed them, but rebel, they are treated as wild beasts, not to be kept in order by a prison or chains; and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and appear to be more troubled by their crimes than their sufferings, are not without hope that in the end, either the prince by his prerogative, or the people

by their intercession, will restore them to liberty, or at least greatly mitigate their slavery.

Who tempts a woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he who commits the crime. They deem a deliberate design to commit a crime equal to the actual perpetration of it; since its not taking effect diminisheth not the guilt of him who miscarried in his attempt.

They take great pleasure in fools. It is esteemed base and unbecoming to use them ill, and they think it not amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly, and that it is an advantage to the fools. For were men so morose and severe as not to be at all amused with their ridiculous behaviour and foolish sayings (which is all they can do to recommend themselves to others), it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used, as otherwise.

Should any man reproach another for being mishapen, or imperfect in any part of his body, it would be thought no reflection on the person so treated, but scandalous in him who had upbraided another with what he could not prevent.

It is thought a mark of a sluggish and sordid mind, not to preserve natural beauty with care; but it is infamous among them to paint. They all see that no beauty recommendeth a wife to her husband so strongly as her probity

and obedience; few only are attracted by beauty, but the other excellencies charm the whole world.

As they terrify from the commission of crimes, by punishments, they invite to the practice of virtue by public honours. They erect statues in their market-places to the memory of such as have deserved well of their country, to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and be an incitement to posterity to follow their example.

If a man aspire ambitiously to any office, he loseth it for certain. They live in loving intercourse with each other, the magistrates never behaving either insolently or cruelly to the people. They affect rather to be called fathers, and by really being such, well merit the appellation. The people pay them all marks of honour, the more freely because none are exacted from them. The prince himself hath no distinction either of garments or a crown; a sheaf of corn only is carried before him, and a wax-light before the high-priest.

They have few laws, and such is their constitution, they require not many. They much condemn other countries, whose laws, with the commentaries on them, swell so many volumes; esteeming it unreasonable to oblige men to obey a body of laws so large and intricate, as not to be read and understood by every subject.

They have no lawyers among them. For they esteem

them a class, whose profession it is to disguise matters, and to writhe the laws. Therefore they think it much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as elsewhere the client trusteth it to his counsellor. By this plan they avoid many delays, and find out the truth with more certainty. For after the parties have opened the merits of the cause without the artifices of lawyers, the judge examines the matter and supports the simplicity of those well-meaning persons whom otherwise the crafty would run down. And thus they avoid those evils which appear so remarkable in those countries which labour under a vast load of laws.

Every one of them is skilled in their law. It is a very short study, and the plainest meaning of which words are capable, is ever the sense of it. They argue thus. All laws are promulgated that every man may know his duty. Therefore the plainest construction of words is, what ought to be put upon them. A more refined exposition could not easily be comprehended, and would only make the laws useless to the greater part of mankind, especially to those who most need the guidance of them. It is the same thing, whether you make no law at all, or couch it in terms of which, without a quick apprehension and much study, men cannot find out the true meaning; for the generality of mankind are so dull and so busied in their avocations, that they have neither the leisure nor capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

Some of their neighbours, who long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shook off the yoke of tyranny, being struck with the virtue they observed among them, have come to desire magistrates of them, some changing them yearly, others every five years. When they change them, it is with strong expressions of honour and esteem; and in this they seem to have hit upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety. Since the good or ill condition of a country dependeth so much on its magistrates, they could not have made a better choice than men whom no advantages can bias. Wealth is of no use to them, who must so soon return to their own country; and being strangers among them, no party interests can agitate them. When public judicatories are swayed by avarice or partiality, justice, the grand sinew of society, is lost.

The Utopians call those who ask magistrates from them, neighbours; but those to whom they have rendered more particular services, friends. While all other nations are perpetually making and breaking leagues, they never enter into alliance with any state. They think leagues useless, and believe, that if the common ties of humanity knit men not together, the faith of promises will have little effect. They are the more confirmed in this by what they see of the nations around them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties.

We know how religiously they are observed in Europe. Where the christian doctrine is received, they are particu-

larly sacred and inviolable. This is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay the popes. Who, being most religious observers of their own promises, exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when gentler methods prevail not, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure; thinking it would be the height of indecency, if men distinguished by the title, *the faithful*, should not religiously observe the *faith* of treaties.

But in that new-found world, which is not less distant from us in point of situation than in the manners of its inhabitants, there is no relying on leagues though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies. On the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken. Some slight pretence is found in the words of the treaty (purposely couched in such ambiguous terms, as never so strictly to bind but that a loop-hole remains), and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. This is practised with such impudence, that those very men who pride themselves in having suggested such expedients to their princes, would declaim scornfully against such craft, or (to speak plainer) such fraud and deceit, if they found individuals practising it in their bargains; and would not scruple to say, *they deserve to be hanged.*

Thus it is that justice passeth for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far beneath the dignity of royal greatness; or at least there are two kinds of it. The one is mean and

becomes only the lower orders, therefore must be restrained that it break not its proper bounds. The other is the virtue of princes, which is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, therefore takes a freer range; and *lawful* and *unlawful* are measured only by pleasure and interest. These practices of their neighbouring princes, who make so little account of their faith, seem to have determined the Utopians to engage in no confederacies. Perhaps they would change their minds if they lived among us.

Yet though treaties were more religiously observed, they would dislike the practice of making them, because the world proceedeth therein on a false maxim,—as if there was no natural tie between two nations, perhaps separated only by a mountain or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and might lawfully do all the mischief to their neighbours, against which there is no provision made by treaties; and that when treaties are made, they cut not off the enmity, or restrain the licence of preying on each other, if from want of skill in expressing them, no effectual proviso be made! They, on the contrary, maintain, that no man is to be esteemed our enemy who hath never injured us; that the partnership of human nature is instead of a league, and that kindness and good nature unite men more strongly than any compact whatever, since the engagements of the heart are stronger than the obligation of words.

They detest war, as brutal, and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by man than by any beast. In opposition to the sentiment of almost every other country, they think nothing more inglorious than the glory gained by war. Therefore, though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises and discipline, in which also their women are trained (that in cases of need they may not be quite useless), yet engage they not rashly in war; but only to defend themselves or their friends from aggression, or to assist the oppressed in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They help their friends in offensive as well as defensive wars; but never without having been consulted before the breach was made, being satisfied as to the grounds, and finding every effort of accommodation vain.

They think war just, when a nation encroaches on the territory of its neighbour by public authority and bears away spoil; or when merchants are oppressed in a strange country, under pretence of unjust laws, or by the distortion of good ones. The latter they reckon the juster cause, because injury is done under the semblance of law. This was the sole ground of the war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitans, a little before our time. The merchants of the former, having, as they thought, experienced great injustice among the latter, it produced a terrible war, in which many neighbouring states were engaged. By their inveteracy and power, they shook some very flourishing states, and greatly distressed others; and after a series of much mischief, the Alaopolitans, greatly

superior before the war to their enemies, were subdued and enslaved. But though the Utopians assisted the Nephelogetes in the war, they pretended to no share of the spoil.

Though they assist, with such alacrity and vigour, their friends, in redressing the injuries they have received of this nature; if such offences were committed against themselves, provided no violence was offered to their persons, the only resentment they would shew on being refused satisfaction, would be to avoid trading with the offenders. This is not because they consider their neighbours as of more consequence than their own citizens. But, since their neighbours trade every one with his own capital, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than to the Utopians, with whom the public only suffers in such a case.

As they expect nothing in return for the merchandize they export, but what they abound in and is of little use to them, the loss little affects them. They think therefore it would be too severe, to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience to their lives or their subsistence, with the death of many. But if any of their people be either killed or wounded undeservedly, whether it be done by public authority or by individuals, as soon as they hear of it, they send ambassadors and demand that the offenders be given up. If this be denied, they declare war; but if complied with, the guilty are condemned to death or slavery.

they would be ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies, thinking it would be as foolish a purchase as the costliest effects at a very exorbitant price. In none do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by skill and conduct without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs and erect trophies, in honour of the successful. For then do they esteem man to act suitably to his nature, when he conquereth his enemy, as no creature but man could conquer—by his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs, and all other animals, use their bodily strength against each other. In this and in ferocity, many of them excel man,—but all are subdued by his reason.

Their only design in war is, to obtain that by force, which, had it been conceded to them in time, would have prevented the war; or, if this cannot be accomplished, so severely to reprimand those who have injured them, that they may be deterred from a repetition of their conduct. It is palpable that fame or vain glory are not their objects, but a just regard to their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they cause a number of hand-bills, sealed with their seal, to be displayed in the most conspicuous parts of their enemies' country. They are secretly conveyed and produced in many places at the same time. In these they offer great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and proportional ones in regard to other instigators of the war; doubling the sum if they be delivered alive into their hands, and offering not only in-

demnity, but rewards to such of the marked persons as will act against their country. Thus the persons named, become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens, but jealous of each other, and distracted between fear and danger. For it hath frequently occurred, that many of them, and even the prince himself, have been betrayed by those they most trusted.

These rewards offered by the Utopians are so immense, that there is no crime to which men cannot be induced by them. They consider the risk which those run who undertake such services, and recompence them in proportion to the danger,—offering not only vast treasures of gold, but large estates in other countries in amity with them, which they may enjoy in great security. And they observe most religiously the promises they make of this nature.

They greatly approve this mode of corrupting their enemies, though others think it base and cruel. They deem it a wise course, for ending, what might otherwise be a tedious war, without hazarding a battle. They think it also an act of mercy and love to mankind, to prevent, by the death of a few of the most guilty, the great slaughter on either side which must otherwise ensue in the war; and that by so doing, they are kind even to their enemies, and commiserate them no less than themselves; well knowing, that most of them engage not in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method succeed not, they sow contention among their enemies, and endeavour to animate the prince's brother or some of the nobility to aspire to the crown. And if they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, they engage their neighbours against them, making them renew some antiquated pretension or other, which are never wanting to princes when they have occasion for them. These they supply plentifully with money, though but very sparingly with troops; for they would not willingly exchange one of their own subjects for even the prince of their enemy's country. Keeping their gold and silver for such an occasion only, when it offers itself, they freely part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them did they reserve none for themselves; for beside their wealth at home they have a vast treasure abroad, many nations around them being deeply in their debt. They therefore hire soldiers everywhere for carrying on their wars, but chiefly among the Zapolets, 500 miles eastward of Utopia.

This is a rude and fierce people, delighting in the woods and rocks among which they were born and bred. Proof against heat, cold, and labour, and ignorant of the delicacies of life, they devote not their attention to agriculture, and are indifferent as to their clothing and habitation. Cattle is their only regard. Hunting and rapine chiefly supply their wants, and they may be called the very soul of war. They watch every opportunity of engaging in it, and eagerly embrace such as present themselves. Numbers of them frequently go forth, and offer themselves on very

low pay to such as will employ them. They know no art of life but what tends to its destruction. They serve with great courage and fidelity, but will not engage themselves for any fixed time.

Their agreements are so made, that they may go over to the enemy the following day if they offer them more pay; and they will perhaps return the day after at a still higher advance. There are few wars in which they constitute not a main force on either side. Thus it often happens that relations and friends kill one another, being hired for a little money by princes of different interests; and such regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought upon by the difference of a penny a-day to change sides. Yet this very money is of little use to them; for, what they thus buy with their blood, they soon afterward waste in luxury, which, with them, is of a miserable kind.

These people are ready to serve the Utopians against any other nation, for they pay higher than any. And, the maxim of the Utopians being, to seek the best men for home, and to use the worst for the carnage of war, they hire these, by the offer of great rewards, to expose themselves to every hazard, from which most of them return not, to claim the rewards. Yet they fulfil their engagements most religiously to such as escape, which animates them to adventuring anew, whenever occasion requires. And the Utopians are not at all concerned at the number which falls; esteeming it a service to mankind to deliver

them from such a vile and abominable race, the very sink of humanity.

Beside these, they are served in their wars by the persons on whose account they undertake them, and by auxiliaries from their other friends; adding a few of their own people, and sending a commander-in-chief of approved valour. Two are sent with him, who are only privates during his command. But should he be killed or taken, the first succeeds him; and if the misfortune recur, the third takes the command. This provision is made, that such accidents as befal their generals may not endanger their armies.

When they draw-out troops of their own, they take such from every city as offer themselves voluntarily, using no compulsion; for they think if any man be impressed who wanteth courage, he will not only be ineffective, but his cowardice may dishearten others. If, however, their country be invaded, they use such men, if they be strong, though not brave. They either send them aboard their ships or plant them on their town-walls, that they may not fly; and shame, the heat of action, or impossibility of escape bearing down their fear, they often make a virtue of necessity and behave well.

Forcing no man to engage in a foreign war against his will, they prevent not those women who are willing to accompany their husbands, but encourage and applaud them;

and they often stand nearest their husbands in the front of the battle. They also place together parents and children, kindred, and allies; that those who have by nature the strongest ties for assisting each other, may be nearest and readiest to do so. It is matter of reproach among them if husband or wife survive each other, or the child its parent; they therefore fight to the last while a foe opposes them.

Although they adopt every prudent mean of avoiding to hazard their own men, and of devolving the danger on their mercenaries, yet if it become necessary for themselves to engage, they charge with as much courage as they before avoided action with prudence. Nor is it merely a fierce onset, but increases by degrees; and as they continue in action they grow more obstinate and press harder on the enemy, insomuch that they will rather perish than give ground. For the certainty which they feel, that their children will be well taken care of when they are dead, relieves them from the anxiety which often overcomes men of courage in the hour of battle, and the resolution which animates them is noble and invincible.

Their skill in military affairs increases their courage, and the sentiments instilled in their minds in youth according to the laws of their country, give them additional vigour. They neither undervalue life so as to throw it away prodigally, nor are they so indecently fond of it as to preserve it by base and unbecoming means. In the heat of action, the bravest of their youth single out the enemy's general,

set on him openly or in ambuscade, pursue him everywhere, and when exhausted are relieved by others who never cease from the pursuit; attacking him hand to hand, or with missile weapons, as the occasion requires, and with such determination, that unless he secure himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or take him prisoner.

When they have gained a victory, they kill as few as possible, being much more bent on taking many prisoners than on destroying those who fly before them. Nor do they ever allow their men to pursue the enemy, without preserving one battalion entire; so that, had they been compelled to engage the last of them to gain the day, they would rather let the enemy all escape, then pursue them when their own army was in disorder. They well remember what hath often befallen themselves. When their main body hath been broken, and the enemy, imagining the victory obtained, hath irregularly pursued, a reserve of them, falling on their disordered chase, hath turned the fortune of the day and wrested a victory from them which they thought certain.

It is difficult to say whether they be more expert in preparing or escaping ambush. Sometimes they appear to fly when it is far from their design; and when they intend to give ground, it is very difficult to discover their purpose. Be they ill-posted, or likely to be overpowered by numbers, they silently march off in the night, or delude the enemy by stratagem. Retire they by day, it is in such or-

der, that it would be no less dangerous to attack them in retreat than on march.

They fortify their camp with a large deep trench, and throw-up the earth for a wall. Not their slaves alone, but the whole army works at it, save those who are upon guard. Thus a great line and a strong fortification are finished in a time scarcely credible. Their armour is very strong, yet light for marching, so that they can even swim in it, which art, all who are trained to war practise. Horse as well as foot make frequent use of arrows, and are very expert with them. They have no swords, but fight with a poll-ax which is sharp and heavy, and with which they thrust-at or strike-down their enemy. They are very clever at inventing war-like engines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy feels before he perceives the use of them, and cannot guard against their design. Their chief consideration in them is, that they may be carried and managed with ease.

If they make a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will induce them to break it. They never lay-waste their enemies' country, nor burn their corn; and in their very march take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may trample it, for they know not but they may want it themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, except he be a spy. When a town surrenders, they take it into their protection. When they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword who opposed the surrender of it, and make the rest

of the garrison slaves. To the other inhabitants they do no hurt. And if any of them advised the surrender, they give them good rewards from the estates of the condemned, distributing the rest among their auxiliary troops; but themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they require not of their friends the reimbursement of their expence, but obtain it of the conquered, either in money, which they reserve for the next occasion, or in land, from which a constant revenue is to be paid them. By accumulation, the revenue they now derive in this way from several countries, exceeds 700,000 ducats per annum. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live with the magnificence of princes, by which they expend much of it in the place; and they either bring the rest to Utopia, or lend it to the country it belonged to. This last is their common custom, unless some great occasion (which happens very rarely) should oblige them to call for it all. It is from these lands that they assign rewards to such as they engage in desperate attempts.

If any prince at war with them proposes to invade their country, they prevent him by making his country the seat of war. For they very unwillingly suffer any war in their own island, and should that happen, they would defend themselves without calling in the aid of auxiliary troops.

Various religions abound in different parts of the island,

and even in every town. Some worship the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets. Others again worship such men as have been eminent for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the Supreme God. Yet the greater and wiser part, adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, incomprehensible Deity; as a being far above all our apprehensions, who is spread over the whole universe, not in material substance, but in power and virtue. They call him the FATHER OF ALL, and acknowledge that the beginning, increase, progress, vicissitudes, and end of all things arise from him; nor do they offer divine honours to any other.

Indeed, though they differ in other things, yet all agree in thinking there is one Supreme Being who made and governs the world, whom, in their language, they call Mithras. One thinks the God he worships is this Supreme Being, another that his idol is that God; but all agree that, whoever is this Supreme Being, he is also that great essence, to whose glory and majesty all honours are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees they abandon their various superstitions and unite in the religion which is best and most esteemed. And there can be no doubt but that all the others had long ago vanished, had not, whatever accident happened to those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions, been considered as inflicted by heaven, and created a dread, that the God whose worship had been nearly abandoned had

interposed, and had revenged himself on those who despised his authority.

When they had heard from us the doctrine, course of life, and miracles of Christ, and the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered-up by them, contributed to the spreading of their religion over a vast number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I will not determine whether this proceeded from divine inspiration, or from the notion of a community of goods, so peculiar and dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule, and that it was still maintained in some communities among the sincerest Christians. However that be, many of them came over to our religion and were initiated in it by baptism. But two of our number were dead, and none of the four survivors were in priests orders; we could therefore only baptize them, and to our great regret they could not partake of the other sacraments, only to be administered by priests. They are, however, instructed concerning them, and vehemently long for them. They disputed among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest, would not thereby be qualified to perform every office of one, though he derived no authority from the pope; and they seemed resolved to make an election for that purpose, but had not done it when I left them.

Those who do not embrace our religion, deter none from

so doing, and use none ill who become converts to it. While I was there, one man only was punished on this occasion. Being newly baptized, notwithstanding all we could say to the contrary, he disputed publicly concerning the Christian religion with more zeal than discretion; and with such heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane, crying out against all who adhered to them as impious and sacrilegious, to be condemned to everlasting flames. On his having frequently preached in this manner, he was taken up, tried, and banished, not for having disparaged their religion, but for inflaming the people to sedition; for it is one of their oldest laws, that no man is to be punished for his religion.

Utopus understood, that before his coming among them, the inhabitants had been engaged in serious quarrels concerning religion. By this they were so divided among themselves, that, every party fighting by itself, he found it easy to conquer them. This done, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to his persuasion by argument, friendship, and modest demeanour, without bitterness against those of other opinions; but any using other force than that of persuasion, or using reproaches or violence, were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only to preserve the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable sects, but because he thought

the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it wrong to lay down any thing rashly; and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all proceed from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with the variety. He therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another, to make him believe what did not strike him as true. Supposing only one religion to be true and the rest false, he imagined that the innate force of truth would at last break forth and shine with splendour, if supported only by the strength of reasoning, and attended to by a docile and unprejudiced mind. On the other hand, were such debates carried on with violence and tumult, since the most wicked are ever the most obstinate, the best and holiest religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with thorns and briars.

He therefore left men free, to believe as they saw cause; making only a solemn and severe law against those who should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to suppose our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise directing providence. For they all formerly believed that there is a state of rewards and punishments after this life; and they now esteem those who think otherwise as unfit to be accounted men, degrading so noble a being as the soul of man, and ranking it with the beast. They look upon such men as totally unfit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth, since, with such principles,

as oft as they dare, they will despise all their laws and customs; there being no doubt, that one who feareth nothing but the law, and apprehendeth nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country by fraud or force, when by so doing he can satisfy his appetites.

They never raise any who entertain such opinions, either to honours or offices, nor do they employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet do they not punish them. For they lay it down as a maxim, that man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases, nor do they drive any by threats to dissemble their thoughts. Thus, men are not tempted to lie, or to disguise their opinions, which (being a kind of fraud) is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions, especially before the common people. But they suffer, nay, even encourage them, to dispute of them in private with their priests and other grave men, being confident they will be cured of their madness, by the conviction which their reason will receive.

There be many of them who run deeply into the other extreme, though it is not thought a bad or a very unreasonable opinion, and is therefore not at all discouraged. These think the souls of beasts immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and incapable of so great happiness.

They are nearly all of them firmly persuaded that good men will be infinitely happy in another state. Therefore, though they be compassionate to the sick, they lament no man's death, unless they see him loath to part with life. This they esteem a very bad presage; as if the soul, conscious of guilt, and hopeless, feared to leave the body from some prepossession of approaching misery. They think a man's appearance before God cannot be acceptable to him, who, being called, goeth not cheerfully, but is backward, unwilling, and as it were dragged to it. They are struck with horror when they see any die in this manner; and carrying them out in silence and sorrow, praying God to be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they inter them.

But when they die cheerfully and full of hope, they mourn not, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, commending their souls very earnestly to God. Their whole behaviour then, is rather grave than sad. They burn the body, and erect a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honour of the deceased. When they return from the funeral, they discourse of his good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftner, or with more pleasure, than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect, paid to the memory of good men, to be, as well the greatest incitement to others to follow their example, as the most acceptable worship which can be offered themselves. For they believe, that though, by the imperfection of human eyes, they be invisible to us, yet

they are present among us and hear our discourses concerning themselves.

They deem it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls, not to be at liberty to range where they please, and imagine them incapable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness. Beside, they are persuaded, that good men, after death, have these affections and all other good dispositions, increased rather than diminished; and therefore conclude, they are still present to the living, and observe all they say and do. Hence, they engage in every pursuit with greater confidence, trusting to their protection; while the same opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint, which prevents their engaging in ill designs.

They ridicule and despise auguries, and the other vain and superstitious modes of divination, so much observed in other countries. But they have great reverence for such miracles as cannot proceed from any natural cause, esteeming them indications and effects of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which, on momentous occasions, they have solemnly put up to God with confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner. They deem the contemplation of God in his works, and the adoration of him

for their excellence, to be tributes highly acceptable to the Deity.

There be many among them who, from a religious motive, neglect learning, and apply themselves to no study whatever. Nor do they allow themselves any leisure, but are perpetually occupied; believing, that by the good which a man doth, he secureth to himself that happiness which comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, clean ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessaries, on carts into their towns. Nor do these serve the public only, but individuals, and that more than the slaves themselves. For, if there be anywhere a rough, difficult, and sordid undertaking, from which most are deterred by its labour and loathsomeness, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they voluntarily and cheerfully take it in hand, thereby greatly easing others, and prescribing to themselves a life of hard labour, yet without valuing themselves upon it, or diminishing the credit of others to increase their own. And the lower they stoop in such servile occupations, the more are they esteemed by all.

There be two kinds of these people. Some live in singleness and chastity, and abstain from flesh. Thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of this life (which they account hurtful), they pursue, even by the most difficult and painful methods possible, that bliss which they hope

for hereafter; and the nearer they approach it, the more cheerful and earnest are their endeavours after it.

Another kind of them, though they be no less sollicitous of toil, yet they prefer the married to the single state. These deny not themselves the comforts of that state, and think the propagation of their species is a debt they owe to human nature and their country. Nor do they avoid any pleasure which hindereth not labour, and eat flesh the more willingly as it recruits them for it. The Utopians esteem this the wiser sect, but the other the more holy. They would indeed laugh at any one, who on mere rational principles would prefer the single to the married state, or a life of labour to one of ease; but they ever admire and reverence such as do it from religious motives, there being nothing in which they are more cautious, than in deciding rashly on that subject. Those, therefore, who lead these severe lives, are called in their language *Buthrescas*, which answers to our term *religious orders*.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore few in number. For there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple. But when they go to war, seven of these attend them, and seven more are chosen in their place, the former reassuming their office on their return, and those who served in their absence attending on the high-priest (who presideth over the rest) till vacancies occur by death. They are chosen by the people in the same manner as the magistrates, by suffrages, privily given, to

prevent faction; and when chosen, they are consecrated by the college of priests. The care of every thing sacred, the worship of God, and a due inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to be sent for by any of them, or to be spoken to by them in private, it ever creating suspicion. Yet they have only to admonish the people, for the power of punishing offences resteth entirely with the prince and other magistrates.

The severest thing the priest doth, is to exclude those who are desperately wicked from joining in their worship; and no kind of punishment is more dreaded by them. It loads them with infamy and fills them with secret horror; such is their reverence of their religion! Nor will their bodies remain long exempt from their share of suffering. For if they do not very soon satisfy the priest of the sincerity of their repentance, they are seized by the senate and punished for their impiety.

The education of youth is in the hands of the priests. They are less solicitous of instructing them in letters, than of forming aright their minds and manners. They use all possible means of infusing very early into the tender and flexible minds of children, such opinions as are both good in themselves, and will be useful to their country. For, when deep impressions of this kind are made at such an age, they follow man through life, and conduce materially to the tranquillity of the state in which he lives, which may

suffer from nothing more than from the vices arising from bad sentiments. Their priests, if they be not women (for that sex is not excluded from the office, though rarely chosen, and then not unless she be a widow and old), have for their wives the most excellent women in the country.

None of the magistrates have greater respect shewn them than the priests; and should they commit any crime they would not be questioned about it, their punishment being left to God and their consciences. For the Utopians deem it unlawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever, who hath been particularly dedicated to God. Nor find they any considerable inconvenience in this; for, having so few priests, and those chosen with much caution, it must be very unusual to find one, who was raised to such a dignity merely from his virtue and goodness, degenerating into corruption and vice. Even should such a thing happen, for man is changeable, yet the smallness of their number, and their having no authority but what arises from the respect paid them, nothing of consequence can happen to the public from the indemnity they enjoy.

They have so few of them, lest numbers sharing in the honour, the dignity of the order, so highly esteemed by them, might sink in reputation. They also think it difficult to find many of such exalted goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than common virtue. Nor are these priests in less veneration

among neighbouring nations, as you may imagine by what I am going to relate.

When the Utopians engage in war, the priests who accompany them to the battle, apparelled in their sacred vestments, kneel during the action near the field, and pray first for peace, next for victory to their side, and lastly for little effusion of blood on either side. Is the victory in their favour, they run in among their troops to restrain their fury. If any of the enemy see or call to them, they are preserved; and such as can touch their garments, have not only their lives but their fortunes secured to them. On this account, all neighbouring nations consider them with such reverence, that they have frequently been no less able to save their own men from the fury of the enemy. For it hath sometimes happened, when their army hath been in disorder and flying, and the enemy running to the slaughter and spoil, the priests have interfered, separated them, and stopped the effusion of blood; and a peace hath been concluded on reasonable terms. Nor is there any nation about them so fierce or barbarous, as not to reckon the persons of the priests sacred and inviolable.

The first and last day of the month and of the year, is with them a festival. They measure their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun. The first days are called in their language Cynemernes, and the last Trapemernes, which terms answer in our language to the festivals which begin and end the season.

They have magnificent temples, nobly built and spacious, which is the more necessary as they have so few of them. These are somewhat dark within, which proceeds from no error in the building, but is done with design. For their priests are of opinion that too much light dissipates the thoughts, while a more moderate degree concentrates the mind and raises devotion.

Though there be many different forms of religion among them, all agree in the main point of worshipping the divine essence. Therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them may not agree. For every sect performs the rites peculiar to it in their private houses, and there is nothing in the public worship which contradicts their peculiarities. There are no images of God in their temples, therefore every one may represent him to his thoughts in his own way; nor do they use for him any other name than Mithras, their term in common for the divine essence, whatever otherwise they think of it; nor have they any forms of prayer, but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his private opinion.

They meet in their temples on the eve of the festival concluding a month or year, and before breaking their fast, thank God for their prosperity during that period. The next day they meet there again early, to pray for the same prosperity during the period on which they then enter. Before they go to the temple, wives and children kneel to

their husbands and parents, confess every thing in which they have erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all petty dissatisfactions in families are removed, and they can offer their devotions with serenity and pureness of mind. For they hold it, a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of bearing hatred or anger to any one; and that they should become liable to severe punishment, if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts and reconciling every difference.

In the temples the sexes are separated, the men going to the right and the women to the left. Males as well as females place themselves before the master or mistress of the family to which they belong, that those who have the government of them at home may see their deportment in public. They mingle the young with the old, lest, being apart, they might trifle away that time in which they ought to form in themselves that religious awe of the Supreme Being, which is the strongest and nearly the sole incitement to virtue.

They offer no living creature in sacrifice; not thinking it suitable to the Divine Being, by whose bounty these creatures have their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering their blood. They burn incense and other sweet odours, and burn a number of waxen lights during their worship. And this, not from any imagination that such oblations can add any thing to the Divine Nature, which

even prayers cannot, but it is a harmless and pure mode of worship; and these sweet savours and lights, with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate man's soul, and inspire him with energy and cheerfulness during divine worship.

The people appear in the temples in white garments, but the vestments of the priests are party-coloured, and the work as well as the colours are highly curious. They are made of no rich materials, for neither are they embroidered, nor beset with precious stones; but they are composed of the plumage of birds, with such art, that the real value of them exceedeth the costliest materials. They say, that in the disposition of these plumes, some dark mysteries are represented, which descend in a secret tradition among their priests; being a kind of hieroglyphic, reminding them of the blessings derived from God, and of their duty to him and their neighbour.

When the priest appears in these garments, they all fall prostrate to the ground with such reverence and silence, that a spectator cannot but be struck, as if it was an effect of some supernatural appearance. After being for some time in this posture, they all stand up, on a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honour of God, musical instruments playing the while. These are of a form totally differing from those used among us; many are much sweeter, others not to be compared to ours. Yet in one thing they very much excel us. All their music, vocal as

well as instrumental, imitates and expresses the passions. It is so well adapted to every occasion, that, be the subject deprecation, gladness, soothing, trouble, mourning, or anger, the music gives such a lively impression of what is represented, as wonderfully to affect and kindle the passions, and work the sentiments deeply into the hearts of the hearers.

This done, priests and people offer very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; which are so composed, that whatever is pronounced by the whole assembly may be applied by any individual to himself. In these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive; they therefore offer him their thanksgiving. In particular, they bless him that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religious persuasion which they hope is the truest of all others. Be they mistaken, and there is a better government, or a religion more acceptable to him, they implore his goodness to let them know it; vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leadeth. But if their government be the best, and their religion the truest, they pray that he may strengthen them therein, and bring all the world to the same rules of life and the same opinions of himself; unless, in his unsearchable wisdom, he be pleased with a variety of religions.

Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to himself. They presume not to limit how ear-

ly or late it should be; but if a wish may be formed, without derogating from his supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered and taken to him, though by the most terrible death, rather than to be long detained from seeing him by the most prosperous life. This prayer ended, they all fall down again to the ground, and after a short pause rise, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercise.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I think not only the best in the world, but the only one truly deserving that name. In all other places, while men talk of a commonwealth, every one seeketh only his own wealth; but there, where no man hath any property, all pursue with zeal the public good.

And, indeed, this diversity of conduct is no wonder. In other commonwealths, every one knows, that unless he provide for himself, how flourishing soever the state may be, he must die of hunger; he therefore sees the necessity of preferring his private to the public good. But in Utopia, where every one hath a right to every thing, they all know, that if due care be taken to supply the public stores, no individual can want any thing. Among them is no unequal distribution, so no one is in necessity; and though no man hath any thing, all are rich. For what can render man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life free from anxieties, neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the com-

plaints of those about him. He fears not for his children, nor is he anxiously raising portions for his daughters; but is secure, that he, his wife, children, grand-children, to as many generations as he can imagine, will all live in affluence and happiness; since in his country, no less care is taken of those who once laboured and were afterward disabled, than elsewhere of those who are still able to work.

Would any man compare their justice with that of other countries?—in which, may I perish! if I see any thing either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in a nobleman, &c. or any one who either does nothing, or is employed in things which are of no use to the public, living in luxury and splendour on what is so ill acquired; while a carter, a smith, or a plowman, who works harder than a beast, and is employed in such necessary labour that no state could exist a year without it, can earn only a poor livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beast is often preferable. For the beast worketh not so incessantly, feedeth nearly as well and with more pleasure, and hath no anxiety about the future; while these men are depressed by a fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehension of want in old age; since their daily labour doth but maintain them, and no overplus is left for hereafter.

Is not that government unjust as well as ungrateful, which is so prodigal of her favours to those called gentlemen, &c. or to such as are idle, live by flattery or contriv-

ing the arts of vain pleasure, while she takes no care of those of a meaner sort, as plowmen, colliers, &c. without whom she could not subsist? But, when the public hath reaped every advantage of the services of the latter, and they become oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labours and their benefit to society are forgotten, and all the recompence they receive is, to die in misery. The rich, moreover, often endeavour to lower the wages of labourers by their unjustifiable practices, and the laws they procure to be made; so that, although it be very unjust to give such low remuneration to those who deserve so well of the public, they have added to this hardship the name and colour of justice, by procuring laws for regulating the matter.

I must therefore say, as I hope for mercy! I can have no other notion of all the other governments I see or know, than that they are a combination of the rich; who, under pretence of the public benefit, pursue their private ends, and devise every art they can invent, first of preserving, without danger, all that they have so ill acquired, and next of engaging the poor to toil for them at as low rates as possible, and of oppressing them as much as they please. And if they can but succeed in establishing these plans by the show of public authority (which passeth for the voice of the people), they are accounted laws.

Yet these wicked men, even when they have, with the most insatiate avarice, divided that among themselves which

would well have supplied all the rest, are far from that happiness which the Utopians enjoy. For the use as well as desire for money being extinguished, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief are cut off. Who seeth not that the frauds, thefts, quarrels, tumults, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are punished rather than restrained by law, would all cease with the value of money in the world? Mens fears, solicitudes, labours, watchings, would perish with it. Poverty itself, for whose relief money seemeth most necessary, would fall. But to apprehend this aright, take an instance.

Take any year in which thousands have died by famine. Had a survey been made at the end of that year of the granaries of the rich who had hoarded corn, it would have been found that there was enough to have prevented the misery, and that, had it been distributed, none would have felt the dreadful effects of scarcity. So easy would it be to supply every necessity of life, if that blessed thing called money, pretended to be invented for procuring them, was not in reality the only obstacle to it.

I doubt not but the rich are sensible of this, and that they are well aware how much happier it is to want nothing necessary, than to abound in superfluities; to be rescued from such misery, than to roll in such wealth. And I cannot think but every man's sense of his interest, added to the authority of Christ (who, being infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was no less good in discovering it to

us), would have drawn all mankind over to the laws of Utopia, did not pride, that plague of humanity, that source of misery, prevent it. She measureth happiness less by her own comfort than by the misery of others, and would not be satisfied with being a goddess, were none left miserable whom she might domineer. She thinketh her own happiness shines brighter by the gloom of others' misfortunes, and displayeth her wealth, that they may the more sensibly feel their poverty.

This is the infernal serpent which slinketh into the breast of man, and possesseth him too strongly to be easily drawn out. I rejoice therefore that the Utopians have fallen on this form of government, in which I wish all the world could be so wise as to imitate them. For, they have instituted so politic a scheme, that men live happily under it, and are likely to do so for a long continuance. Having rooted from the minds of their people all the seeds of ambition and faction, they have no danger of civil commotion, which alone hath been the ruin of many a state, otherwise seemingly well secured. But while they live in peace at home, governed by most excellent laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put them into commotion or disorder.'

When Raphael had thus finished his discourse; though many things occurred to me in the manners and laws of this people which seemed sufficiently absurd, as their art of war, their notions of religion, &c. but principally (what seemed the foundation of the rest) their living in common without the use of money, by which all nobility, splendour, and majesty, in the common opinion the true ornaments of a nation, would be destroyed; yet perceiving him to be weary, and being uncertain whether he could easily bear contradiction (for I remembered he had noticed some who seemed to think they were bound to support the credit of their wisdom, by finding something to censure in all other men's inventions), I only commended the constitution and the account he had given of it, in general terms; and, leading him to supper, said, I would find some other time for examining this subject more particularly. Indeed, I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of so doing. Meanwhile, though it must be confessed he is a very learned man, and one who hath acquired great knowledge of the world, I cannot assent to every thing he hath said. Yet I freely confess, there are many things in the commonwealth of Utopia, which I wish, but have no hope of seeing adopted among us.

# SIR THOMAS MORE'S

UNFINISHED

# HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III,

FROM HIS ENGLISH WORKS.

# HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III

KING EDWARD, of that name the Fourth, after that he had lived fifty and three years 7 months and 6 days, and thereof reigned 22 years 1 month and 8 days, died at Westminster the 9th day of April the year of our redemption 1483, leaving much fair issue. That is, to-wit, Edward the prince, at 13 years of age; Richard duke of York, 2 years younger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was afterward to be queen, wife unto King Henry VII, and mother unto the VIII; Cecily, not so fortunate as fair; Brigette, who representing the virtue of her whose name she bare, professed and observed a religious life in Dertforde, an house of close nuns; Ann, who was afterward honourably married unto Thomas then Lord Howard and afterward earl of Surry; and Catharine, who long time tossed in either fortune, sometimes in wealth, oft in adversity, at the last (if this be the last, for yet she liveth), is by the benignity of her nephew King Henry VIII, in very prosperous estate, and worthy her birth and virtue.

This noble prince deceased at his palace of Westminster, and with great funeral honour and heaviness of his people from thence conveyed, was interred at Windsor. A king of such governance and behaviour in time of peace (for in war each part must needs be others enemy), that there was never any prince of this land, attaining the crown by battle, so heartily beloved with the substance of the people; nor he himself so specially in any part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which favour and affection yet after his decease, by the cruelty, mischief, and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed, highly toward him more increased. At such time as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for King Henry VI sake, whom he deposed, was well assuaged and in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in more than 20 years of his reign, a great part of a long life; and many of them in the mean season grown into his favour, of which he was never strange.

He was a goodly personage and very princely to behold, of heart courageous, politic in counsel, in adversity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyful than proud, in peace just and merciful, in war sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardy, and nevertheless no farther than wisdom would adventurous. Whose wars whoso well consider, he shall no less commend his wisdom where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage lovely, of body mighty, strong and clean made; howbeit in his latter days with over-liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and

boorly, and nevertheless not uncomely. He was of youth greatly given to fleshly wantonness, from which, health of body in great prosperity and fortune, without a special grace, hardly refraineth. This fault not greatly grieved the people; for neither could any one man's pleasure stretch and extend to the displeasure of very many, and was without violence, and over that in his latter days lessened and well left. In which time of his latter days, this realm was in quiet and prosperous estate; no fear of outward enemies, no war in hand, nor none toward but such as no man looked for; the people toward the prince, not in a constrained fear, but in a willing and loving obedience; among themselves, the commons in good peace; the lords whom he knew at variance, himself on his death-bed appeased. He had left all gathering of money (which is the only thing that withdraweth the hearts of Englishmen from the prince), nor any thing intended he to take in hand by which he should be driven thereto; for his tribute out of France he had before obtained, and the year foregoing his death he had obtained Berwick. And albeit that all the time of his reign he was with his people so benign, courteous and so familiar, that no part of his virtues was more esteemed, yet that condition in the end of his days (in which many princes, by a long continued sovereignty, decline into a proud port, from debonair behaviour of their beginning), marvellously in him grew and increased. So far forth, that in the summer, the last that ever he saw, his highness, being at Windsor in hunting, sent for the mayor and aldermen of London to him, for none other errand but to have them hunt and

be merry with him; where he made them not so stately, but so friendly and so familiar cheer, and sent venison from thence so freely into the city, that no one thing in many days before, gat him either more hearts or more hearty favour among the common people; who oftentimes more esteem and take for greater kindness, a little courtesy than a great benefit.

So deceased, as I have said, this noble king, in that time in which his life was most desired. Whose love of his people and their entire affection toward him, had been to his noble children (having in themselves also as many gifts of nature, as many princely virtues, as much goodly towardness, as their age could receive), a marvellous fortress and sure armour; if division and dissention of their friends had not unarmed them and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of sovereignty provoked him to their destruction, who, if either kind or kindness had holden place, must needs have been their chief defence. For Richard the duke of Gloucester, by nature their uncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselves by oath and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without any respect of God or the world, unnaturally contrived to bereave them, not only of their dignity, but also their lives. But forasmuch as this duke's demeanour ministereth in effect all the whole matter whereof this book shall entreat, it is therefore convenient somewhat to shew you ere we farther go, what manner of man this was that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive.

Richard duke of York, a noble man and a mighty, began not by war, but by law, to challenge the crown, putting his claim into the parliament. Where his cause was either for right or favour so far forth advanced, that King Henry's blood (albeit he had a goodly prince) utterly rejected, the crown was, by authority of parliament, entailed unto the duke of York and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King Henry. But the duke not enduring so long to tarry, but intending, under pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realm, to prevent his time, and to take upon him the rule in King Henry's life, was, with many nobles of the realm, at Wakefield slain, leaving three sons, Edward, George, and Richard. All three as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners. Edward revenging his father's death, deprived King Henry and attained the crown. George duke of Clarence was a goodly noble prince, and at all points fortunate, if either his own ambition had not set him against his brother, or the envy of his enemies his brother against him. For, were it by the queen and the lords of her blood, who highly maligned the king's kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature, hate them whom their husbands love), or were it a proud appetite of the duke himself, intending to be king; at the leastwise heinous treason was there laid to his charge, and finally, were he faulty, were he faultless, attainted was he by parliament and judged to the death, and thereupon hastily drowned in a butt of malmsey. Whose death King Edward (albeit he

commanded it), when he wist it was done, piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented.

Richard, the third son, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them; in body and prowess, far under them both; little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard favoured of visage, and such as is in states called warly, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathful, envious, and from before his birth ever froward. It is for truth reported, that the duchess, his mother, had so much ado in her travail, that she could not be delivered of him uncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be born outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not untoothed; whether men, of hatred, report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning, who in the course of his life many things unnaturally committed. None evil captain was he in the war, as to which his disposition was more metely than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometimes overthrows, but never in default as for his own person, either of hardiness or politic order. Free was he called of dispence, and somewhat above his power liberal. With large gifts he gat him unstedfast friendship, for which he was fain to pill and spoil in other places and get him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deep dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly companionable where he inwardly hated, not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill; dispiteous and cruel, not for evil will alway, but after for

ambition, and either for the surety or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was muchwhat indifferent where his advantage grew; he spared no man's death whose life withstood his purpose.

He slew with his own hands King Henry VI (being prisoner in the Tower) as men constantly say; and that without commandment or knowledge of the king, who would undoubtedly, if he had intended that thing, have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born-brother. Some wise men also ween, that his drift covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth. And they who thus deem, think that he long time in King Edward's life forethought to be king, in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that evil diet should shorten), should happen to decease (as indeed he did), while his children were young. And they deem, that for this intent he was glad of his brother's death the duke of Clarence, whose life must needs have hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the young king, or enterprised to be king himself. But of all this point is there no certainty, and whoso divineth upon conjectures may as well shoot too far as too short. Howbeit this have I by credible information learned, that the self night in which King Edward died, one Mystlebrooke long ere morning

came in great haste to the house of one Pottyer, dwelling in Redcross-street without Cripplegate, and when he was with hasty rapping quickly letten-in, he shewed unto Pottyer that King Edward was departed. *By my truth man*, quoth Pottyer, *then will my master the duke of Gloucester be king.* What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say, whether he being toward him any thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had any inkling thereof; for he was not likely to speak it of nought.

But now to return to the course of this history. Were it that the duke of Gloucester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at first thereunto moved and put in hope, by the occasion of the tender age of the young princes his nephews (as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he never intended), certain is it that he contrived their destruction, with the usurpation of the regal dignity upon himself. And forasmuch as he well wist and helped to maintain a long-continued grudge and heart-burning between the queen's kindred and the king's blood, either party envying other's authority, he now thought that their division should be (as it was indeed) a farthering beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building; if he might first, under the pretext of revenging old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party to the destruction of the other, and then win to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be won might be lost ere they looked therefore. For of one thing was he certain,

that if his intent were perceived, he should soon have made peace between the both parties with his own blood.

King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention between his friends somewhat irked him, yet in his good health he somewhat the less regarded it, because he thought whatsoever business should fall between them, himself should alway be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickness, when he perceived his natural strength so sore enfeebled that he despaired all recovery, then he considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing less mistrusted than that that happened, yet well foreseeing that many harms might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lack discretion of themselves and good counsel of their friends (of which either party should counsel for their own commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favour, than by profitable advertisement to do the children good), he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especial the Lord Marquis Dorset, the queen's son by her first husband, and Richard the Lord Hastings, a noble man then lord-chamberlain, against whom the queen specially grudged for the great favour the king bare him, and also for that she thought him secretly familiar with the king in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him captain of Calais (which office the Lord Rivers, brother to the queen, claimed of the king's former promise), as for divers other great gifts which he received, that they looked for. When these lords, with divers others of both the par-

ties, were come in presence, the king lifting-up himself and underset with pillows, as it is reported, on this wise said unto them.

'My lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie, ye see and I feel. By which the less while I look to live with ye, the more deeply am I moved to care in what case I leave ye; for such as I leave ye, such be my children like to find ye. Who, if they should (that God forbid!) find ye at variance, might hap to fall themselves at war ere their discretion would serve to set ye at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all ye love them, if each of ye hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness haply would suffice. But childhood must be maintained by men's authority, and slippery youth underpropped with elder counsel, which neither they can have but ye give it, nor ye give it if ye agree not. For where each laboureth to break that the other maketh, and, for hatred of each other's person, impugneth each other's counsel, there must it needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward. And also while either party laboureth to be chief, flattery shall have more place than plain and faithful advice. Of which must needs ensue the evil bringing-up of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischief and riot, and draw down with it this noble realm to ruin. But if grace turn him to wisdom, which if God send, then they who by evil means before pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favour;

so that ever at length evil drifts drive to nought, and good plain ways prosper.

'Great variance hath there long been between ye, not alway for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended our misconstruction turneth unto worse, or a small displeasure done us either our own affection or evil tongues agrieveth. But this wot I well, ye never had so great cause of hatred as ye have of love. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leave for preachers to tell ye; and yet I wot neither, whether any preacher's words ought more to move ye, than his who is by and by going to the place which they all preach of. But this shall I desire ye to remember, that the one part of ye is of my blood, the other of mine allies, and each of ye with other either of kindred or affinity. Which spiritual kindred or affinity, if the sacraments of Christ's church bore that weight with us, which would God they did, should no less move us to charity than the respect of fleshly consanguinity. Our Lord forbid, that ye love together the worse for the self cause that ye ought to love the better! And yet that happeneth. And nowhere find we so deadly debate, as among them who by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vain-glory and sovereignty! Who, among states where he once entereth, creepeth forth so far, till with division and variance he turneth all to mischief; first longing to be next the best, afterward equal with the best, and at last chief and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite of

worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what loss, what sorrow, what trouble hath within these few years grown in this realm, I pray God as well forget as we well remember! Which things, if I could as well have foreseen, as I have with my more pain than pleasure proved, by God's blessed Lady *(that was ever his oath)*, I would never have won the courtesy of men's knees with the loss of so many heads!

'But since things past cannot be recalled, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we have taken so great hurt afore, that we eftsoons fall not in that occasion again. Now be those griefs past, and all is, God be thanked! quiet and likely right well to prosper in wealthful peace under your cousins, my children, if God send them life and ye love. Of which two things, the less loss were they. By whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realm alway find kings, and peradventure as good kings. But if ye among yourselves, in a child's reign, fall at debate, many a good man shall perish, aud haply he too, and ye too, ere this land find peace again. Wherefore, in these last words that ever I look to speak with ye, I exhort ye and require ye all, for the love that ye have ever borne to me, for the love that I have ever borne to ye, for the love that our Lord beareth to us all, from this time forward, all griefs forgotten, each of ye love other. Which I verily trust ye will, if ye any thing earthly regard, either God or your king, affinity or kindred, this realm, your own country, or your own surety.'

And therewithal the king no longer enduring to sit up, laid him down on his right side, his face toward them; and none was there present that could refrain from weeping. But the lords, recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their words appeared, each forgave other and joined their hands together, when, as it after appeared by their deeds, their hearts were far asunder.

As soon as the king was departed, the noble prince, his son, drew toward London, who, at the time of his decease, kept his household at Ludlow in Wales. Which country, being far off from the law and recourse to justice, was begun to be far out of good will and waxen wild, robbers and rivers *(ruffians)* walking at liberty uncorrected. And for this encheason *(cause)* the prince was, in the life of his father, sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should restrain evil-disposed persons from the boldness of their former outrages. To the governance and ordering of this young prince at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir Anthony Wodvile, Lord Rivers, and brother unto the queen, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politic in counsel. Adjoined were there unto him others of the same party; and in effect, every one as he was nearest of kin unto the queen, so was planted next about the prince.

That drift, by the queen not unwisely devised, whereby

her blood might of youth be rooted in the prince's favour, the duke of Gloucester turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy building. For, whomsoever he perceived either at variance with them, or bearing himself their favour, he brake unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it neither was reason nor in anywise to be suffered, that the young king, their master and kinsman, should be in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred, sequestered in a manner from their company and attendance, of which every one owed him as faithful service as they, and many of them far more honourable part of kin than his mother's side. 'Whose blood, quoth he, saving the king's pleasure, was full unmetely to be matched with his; which now to be, as we say, removed from the king and the less noble to be left about him, is, quoth he, neither honourable to his majesty nor unto us; and also to his grace no surety, to have the mightiest of his friends from him; and unto us no little jeopardy, to suffer our well-proved evil willers to grow in over-great authority with the prince in youth, which is light of belief and soon persuaded.

'Ye remember I trow King Edward himself, albeit he was a man of age and of discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the band, more than stood either with his honour or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immoderate advancement of themselves. Who, whether they sorer thirsted after their own weal or our woe, it were hard I ween to guess. And if

some folks' friendship had not holden better place with the king than any respect of kindred, there might peradventure easily have been trapped and brought to confusion some of us ere this. Why not as easily as they have done some other already, as near of his royal blood as we. But our Lord hath wrought his will, and, thank be to his grace! that peril is past. Howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young king in our enemy's hand; who, without his witting, might abuse the name of his commandment to any of our undoing, which thing God and good provision forbid. Of which good provision none of us hath any thing the less need for the late made atonement, in which the king's pleasure had more place than the parties' wills. Nor none of us, I believe, is so unwise, oversoon to trust a new friend made of an old foe; or to think that an hourly kindness, suddenly contracted in one hour, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs, than a long-accustomed malice many years rooted.'

With these words and writings, and such other, the duke of Gloucester soon set a-fire them who were of themselves ready to kindle; and in especial twain, Edward duke of Buckingham, and Richard, Lord Hastings and chamberlain, both men of honour and of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestry, the other by his office and the king's favour. These two, not bearing each to other so much love as hatred both unto the queen's party, in this point accorded together with the duke of Gloucester, that they would utterly remove from the king's company

all his mother's friends, under the name of their enemies. Upon this concluded, the duke of Gloucester understanding, that the lords, who at that time were about the king, intended to bring him up to his coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to pass, without the gathering and great assembly of people, and in manner of open war, whereof the end he wist was doubtful, and in which, the king being on their side, his part should have the face and name of a rebellion; he secretly therefore, by divers means, caused the queen to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be jeopardous, the king to come-up strong. For, whereas now every lord loved other, and none other thing studied upon but about the coronation and honour of the king, if the lords of her kindred should assemble in the king's name much people, they should give the lords, betwixt whom and them had been some time debate, to fear and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the king's safeguard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their old variance than their new atonement. For which cause, they should assemble on the other party much people again for their defence, whose power she wist well-far stretched; and thus should all the realm fall on a roar. And of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be little, and the most harm there like to fall where she least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the weight, and say, that they had unwisely, and untruly also, broken the amity and peace, which the

king her husband so prudently made between his kin and hers, on his death-bed, and which the other party faithfully observed.

The queen, being in this wise persuaded, such word sent unto her son, and unto her brother, being about the king. And over that, the duke of Gloucester himself, and other lords the chief of his band, wrote unto the king so reverently, and to the queen's friends there so lovingly, that they, nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the king up in great haste, not in good speed, with a sober company.

Now was the king, in his way to London, gone from Northampton, when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither. Where remained behind the Lord Rivers, the king's uncle, intending on the morrow to follow the king and be with him at Stony Stratford, thirteen miles thence, earlier than he departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheer, between these dukes and the Lord Rivers, a great while. But, incontinent after that they were openly with great courtesy departed and the Lord Rivers lodged, the dukes secretly, with a few of their most privy friends, set them down in council, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their rising in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their inns and lodgings about, giving them commandment to make themselves shortly ready, for their lords were to horsebackward. Upon which messages, many of their folk were attendant, when many of the Lord Rivers'

servants were unready. Now, had these dukes taken also into their custody the keys of the inn, that none should pass-forth without their licence. And, over this, in the highway toward Stony Stratford, where the king lay, they had bestowed certain of their folk, that should send back again and compel to return, any man that was gotten out of Northampton toward Stony Stratford, till they should give other licence. Forasmuch as the dukes themselves intended, for the shew of their diligence, to be the first that should that day attend upon the king's highness out of that town, thus bare they folk in hand.

But when the Lord Rivers understood the gates closed and the ways on every side beset, neither his servants nor himself suffered to go out, perceiving well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for nought, comparing this manner present with the last night's cheer, in so few hours so great a change marvelously misliked. Howbeit, since he could not get away, and keep himself close he would not, lest he should seem to hide himself for some secret fear of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himself, he determined, upon the surety of his own conscience, to go boldly to them and inquire what this matter might mean. Whom, as soon as they saw, they began to quarrel with him, and say that he intended to set distance between the king and them, and to bring them to confusion; but it should not lie in his power. And when be began (as he was a very well-spoken man) in goodly wise to excuse himself, they tarried not the end of his answer, but

shortly took him and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith went to horseback and took the way to Stony Stratford. Where they found the king with his company, ready to leap on horseback and depart forward, to leave that lodging for them, because it was too straight for both companies. And, as soon as they came in his presence, they lighted adown, with all their company about them. To whom the duke of Buckingham said, *go afore gentlemen and yeomen, keep your rooms.* And thus, in a goodly array, they came to the king, and on their knees, in very humble wise, saluted his grace. Who received them in very joyous and amiable manner, nothing earthly knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

But even by and by, in his presence, they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard Graye, the king's other brother by his mother, saying that he, with the Lord Marquis his brother, and the Lord Rivers his uncle, had compassed to rule the king and the realm, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realm. Toward the accomplishing whereof, they said that the Lord Marquis had entered into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the king's treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes wist well were done for good purposes and necessary, by the whole council at London, saving that somewhat they must say. Unto which words the king answered, *what my brother Marquis hath done I cannot say, but in good faith I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent*

*of any such matters.* 'Yea, my liege,' (quoth the duke of Buckingham) 'they have kept their dealing in these matters far from the knowledge of your good grace;' and forthwith they arrested the Lord Richard and Sir Thomas Waughan, knight, in the king's presence, and brought the king and all, back unto Northampton, where they took again farther counsel.

And there they sent away from the king whom it pleased them, and set new servants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing, he wept and was nothing content, but it booted not. And at dinner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his own table to the Lord Rivers, praying him to be of good cheer, all should be well enough. And he thanked the duke, and prayed the messenger to bear it to his nephew the Lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had more need of comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but himself had been all his days in ure therewith, and therefore could bear it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesy of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lord Rivers and the Lord Richard, with Sir Thomas Waughan, into the north country, into divers places, to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester took upon himself the order and governance of the young king, whom, with much honour and humble reverence, he conveyed upward

toward the city. But anon the tidings of this matter came hastily to the queen a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise, that the king, her son, was taken, her brother, her son, and her other friends arrested and sent no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings the queen in great fright and heaviness, bewailing her child's ruin, her friends' mischance, and her own infortune, damning the time that ever she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat herself in all haste possible, with her younger son and her daughters, out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then lay, into the sanctuary, lodging herself and her company there, in the abbot's place.

Now came there one in likewise, not long after midnight, from the lord-chamberlain, unto the archbishop of York, then chancellor of England, to his place not far from Westminster. And for that he shewed his servants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his master gave him in charge not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in to his bed-side. Of whom he heard, that these dukes were gone back with the king's grace from Stony Stratford unto Northampton. *Notwithstanding, Sir,* quoth he, *my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no fear; for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him,* quoth the archbishop, *be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it.*

And thereupon, by and by, after the messenger departed,

he caused in all haste all his servants to be called-up; and so with his own household about him, and every man weaponed, he took the great seal with him, and came yet before day unto the queen. About whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste, and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trusses, all on mens' backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that help to carry a wrong way. The queen herself sat alone, alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed; whom the archbishop comforted in the best manner he could, shewing her that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she took it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of fear, by the message sent him from the lord-chamberlain.

*Ah woe worthy him,* quoth she, *for he is one of them that laboureth to destroy me and my blood. Madam,* quoth he, *be you of good cheer; for I assure you if they crown any other king than your son, whom they now have with them, we shall on the morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you. And here is the great seal, which in like wise as that noble prince your husband delivered it unto me, so here I deliver it unto you to the use and behoof of your son.* And therewith he betook her the great seal, and departed home again yet in the dawning of the day.

By which time he might, in his chamber window, see all

the Thames full of boats of the duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none could pass unsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about as specially in the city, the people diversly divining upon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favour of the queen or for fear of themselves, assembled in sundry companies and went flockmeal in harness *(armour)*; and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanour, attempted not so specially against the other lords, as against the king himself in the disturbance of his coronation.

But then by and by the lords assembled together at ——. Toward which meeting, the archbishop of York, fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his overmuch lightness, that he so suddenly had yielded-up the great seal to the queen, to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained without especial commandment of the king, secretly sent for the seal again, and brought it with him after the customable manner. And at this meeting, the Lord Hastings, whose truth toward the king no man doubted nor needed to doubt, persuaded the lords to believe that the duke of Gloucester was sure and fastly faithful to his prince; and that the Lord Rivers and Lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the king's jeopardy. And that they were also in safeguard, and there no longer should remain

than till the matter were, not by the dukes only, but also by all the other lords of the king's council, indifferently examined, and by other discretions ordered and either judged or appeased.

But one thing he advised them beware, that they judged not the matter too far-forth ere they knew the truth; nor, turning their private grudges into the common hurt, exciting and provoking men unto anger, and disturbing the king's coronation (toward which the dukes were coming up), that they might peradventure bring the matter so far out of joint, that it should never be brought in frame again. Which strife, if it should hap, as it were likely, to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the king is himself.

With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings, whereof part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But specially by that, that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were so near, and came so shortly on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance, than to his coronation; causing the fame to be blown about, that these lords and knights who were taken, had contrived the destruction of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realm, to the end that themselves would alone demean and govern the king at their pleasure.

And for the colourable proof thereof, such of the dukes servants as rode with the carts of their stuff that were taken (among which stuff no marvail, though some were harness, which, at the breaking-up of that household, must needs either be brought away or cast away), they shewed unto the people all the way as they went; *lo here be the barrels of harness that these traitors had privily conveyed in their carriage, to destroy the noble lords withal.* This device, albeit that it made the matter to wise men more unlikely, well perceiving that the intenders of such a purpose would rather have had their harness on their backs than to have bound them up in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith very well satisfied, and said it were almoise to hang them.

When the king approached near to the city, Edmund Sha, goldsmith, then mayor, with William White and John Mathewe, sheriffs, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with five hundred horse of the citizens in violet, received him reverently at Hornsey; and riding from thence, accompanied him into the city, which he entered the fourth day of May, the first and last year of his reign. But the duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reverently to the prince, with all semblance of lowliness, that from the great obloquy in which he was so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust, that at the council next assembled, he was made the only man chose and thought most meet, to be protector of the king and his realm; so that, were it destiny or were it folly, the lamb was betaken to the wolf to keep.

At which council also, the archbishop of York, chancellor of England, who had delivered up the great seal to the queen, was thereof greatly reproved, and the seal taken from him, and delivered to Doctor Russell, bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best-learned men undoubtedly that England had in his time. Divers lords and knights were appointed unto divers rooms. The lord-chamberlain and some others, kept still their offices that they had before.

Now, all were it so, that the protector so sore thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that he thought every day a year till it were atchieved, yet durst he no farther attempt as long as he had but half his prey in his hand. Well witting, that if he deposed the one brother, all the realm would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuary, or should haply be shortly conveyed to his farther liberty.

Wherefore incontinent, at the next meeting of the lords at the council, he proposed unto them, that it was a heinous deed of the queen, and proceeding of great malice toward the king's counsellors, that she should keep in sanctuary the king's brother from him, whose special pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with him; and that by her done to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquy and murmur of the people. As though *they* were not to be trusted with the king's brother, who, by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed, as the

king's nearest friends, to the tuition of his own royal person.

'The prosperity whereof standeth,' quoth he, 'not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure; which he cannot in this tender youth take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those who be neither far under nor far above his age, and nevertheless of estate convenient to accompany his noble majesty. Wherefore with whom rather than with his own brother? And if any man think this consideration (which I think no man thinketh who loveth the king) let him consider, that sometimes without small things greater cannot stand. And verily it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour, both of the king's highness and of all us who be about his grace, to have it run in every man's mouth, not in this realm only, but also in other lands (as evil words walk far), that the king's brother should be fain to keep sanctuary. For every man will ween, that no man will so do for nought; and such evil opinion, once fastened in men's hearts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more grief than any man here can divine.

'Wherefore methinketh, it were not worst, to send unto the queen, for the redress of this matter, some honourable trusty man, such as both tendereth the king's weal and the honour of his council, and is also in favour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth me more meetly, than our reverend father here pre-

sent, my lord cardinal, who may in this matter do most good of any man, if it please him to take the pain. Which, I doubt not, of his goodness he will not refuse, for the king's sake and ours, and wealth of the young duke himself, the king's most honourable brother, and, after my sovereign lord himself, my most dear nephew; considered, that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquy now going, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realm.

'And if she be percase so obstinate, and so precisely set upon her own will, that neither his wise and faithful advertisement can move her, nor any man's reason content her; then shall we, by mine advice, by the king's authority fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence. In whose continual company he shall be so well cherished and so honourably entreated, that all the world shall, to our honour and her reproach, perceive that it was only malice, frowardness or folly, that caused her to keep him there. This is my mind in this matter for this time, except any of your lordships any thing perceive to the contrary. For never shall I, by God's grace, so wed myself to mine own will, but that I shall be ready to change it upon your better advices.'

When the protector had said, all the council affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thing that should

cease great murmur in the realm, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliver him. Which thing the archbishop of York, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most convenient, took upon him to move her, and therein to do his uttermost endeavour. Howbeit, if she could be in nowise entreated, with her good will to deliver him, then thought he and such other as were of the spiritualty present, that it were not in anywise to be attempted to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken; which had so many years been kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was, more than five hundred years ago, by S^t. Peter, his own person in spirit, accompanied with great multitude of angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God (for the proof whereof, they have yet in the abbey S^t. Peter's cope to shew), that from that time hitherward, was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

'And therefore,' quoth the archbishop of York, 'God forbid that any man should, for any thing earthly, enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred sanctuary, which hath been the safeguard of so many a good man's life. And I trust,' quoth he, 'with God's grace we shall not need it. But, for any manner of need, I would not we should do it. I trust that she shall be with

reason contented and all things in good manner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to pass, yet shall I toward it so far forth do my best, that ye shall all well perceive, that no lack of my endeavour, but the mother's dread and womanish fear, shall be the let.'

'Womanish fear, nay, womanish frowardness,' quoth the duke of Buckingham. 'For I dare take it upon my soul, she well knoweth she needeth no such thing to fear, either for her son or for herself. For as for her, here is no man who will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon in rest! Howbeit there is none of her kin the less loved for that they be her kin, but for their own evil deserving. And, nevertheless, if we loved neither her nor her kin, yet were there no cause to think that we should hate the king's noble brother, to whose Grace we ourselves be of kin. Whose honour if she as much desired as our dishonour, and as much regard took to his wealth as to her own will, she would be as loath to suffer him from the king as any of us be. For, if she have any wit (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit), she reckoneth herself no wiser than she thinketh some that be here; of whose faithful mind she nothing doubteth, but verily believeth and knoweth, that they would be as sorry of his harm as herself, and yet would have him from her if she abide there; and were all (I think) content, that both be with her, if she come thence and abide in such place where they may with their honour be.

'Now then if she refuse, in the deliverance of him, to follow the counsel of them whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth, it is easy to perceive, that frowardness letteth her and not fear. But go to suppose that she fear (as who may let her to fear her own shadow), the more she feareth to deliver him, the more ought we to fear to leave him in her hands. For if she cast such fond doubts, that she fear his hurt, then will she fear that he shall be fetched thence. For she will soon think, that if men were set (which God forbid!) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuary would little let them; which good men might, as methinketh, without sin, somewhat less regard than they do.

'Now then if she doubt lest he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough, that she shall send him somewhere out of the realm? Verily I look for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to pass (as it were no great mastery, we letting her alone) all the world would say that we were a *wise* sort of counsellors about a king, who let his brother be cast-away under our noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully, for my mind, I will rather, maugre her mind, fetch him away, than leave him there till her frowardness or fond fear convey him away.

'And yet will I break no sanctuary therefore. For verily, since the privileges of that place and otherlike have been of long continued, I am not he who would be about

to break them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he who should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pity, that such men as the sea or their evil debtors have brought in poverty, should have some place of liberty to keep their bodies out of the danger of their cruel creditors. And also, if the crown happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either party taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both.

'But as for thieves, of which these places be full, and which never fall from the craft after they once fall thereto, it is pity the sanctuary should serve them. And much more mankillers, whom God bad to take from the altar and kill them if their murder were wilful. And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries which God appointed in the old law; for, if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune, draw him to that deed, a pardon serveth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pity may.

'Then look me now how few sanctuary-men there be, whom any favourable necessity compelled to go thither; and then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of them whom wilful unthriftyness hath brought to nought. What a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious, heinous traitors; and that in two places specially; the one at the elbow of the city, the other in the very bowels. I dare well avow it, weigh the good that

they do with the hurt that cometh of them, and ye shall find it much better to lack both than have both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be and so long have been, that I fear me ever they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the amendment; as though God and S^t. Peter were the patrons of ungracious living.

'Now, unthrifts riot and run in debt, upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor mens' goods. There they build, there they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and there live thereon. There devise they new robberies, nightly they steal out, they rob, and reave, and kill, and come in again, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm they have done, but a licence also to do more. Howbeit much of this mischief, if wise men would set their hands to it, might be amended, with great thank of God and no breach of the privilege.

'The residue, since so long ago I wot neither what pope and what prince (more piteous than politic) hath granted it, and other men since of a certain religious fear have not broken it, let us take a pain therewith, and let it a God's name stand in force as far forth as reason will. Which is not fully so far forth, as may serve to let us of the fetching

forth of this nobleman to his honour and wealth, out of that place in which he neither is nor can be a sanctuary-man.

'A sanctuary serveth alway to defend the body of that man who standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but also of lawful hurt. For, against unlawful harms, never pope nor king intended to privilege any one place; for that privilege hath every place. Knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawful one man to do another wrong? That no man unlawfully take hurt, *that*, liberty, the king, the law, and very nature, forbiddeth in every place, and maketh to that regard, for every man every place a sanctuary. But where a man is by lawful means in peril, there needeth he the tuition of some special privilege; which is the only ground and cause of all sanctuaries. From which necessity, this noble prince is far; whose love to his king, nature and kindred proveth; whose innocence to all the world, his tender youth proveth.

'And so sanctuary as for him, neither none he needeth nor also none can have. Men come not to sanctuary as they come to baptism, to require it by their godfathers. He must ask it himself that must have it; and with reason; since no man hath cause to have it but whose conscience of his own fault maketh him feign need to require it. What will then hath yonder babe? Who, and if he had discretion to require it if need were, I dare say, would now be right angry with them who keep him there. And I would think,

without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of privilege, to be somewhat more homely with them who be there sanctuary-men indeed. For if one go to sanctuary with another man's goods, why should not the king, leaving his body at liberty, satisfy the part of his goods even within the sanctuary? for neither king nor pope can give any place such a privilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay.'

And with that, divers of the clergy who were present, whether they said it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed plainly, that by the law of God and of the church, the goods of a sanctuary-man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and only liberty reserved him to get his living with the labour of his hands.

'Verily,' quoth the duke, 'I think ye say very truth. And what if a man's wife will take sanctuary because she list to run from her husband, I would ween, if she can allege none other cause, he may lawfully, without any displeasure to S^t^. Peter, take her out of S^t^. Peter's church by the arm. And if nobody may be taken out of sanctuary that saith he will abide there, then if a child will take sanctuary because he feareth to go to school, his master must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there less reason in our case than in that. For therein, though it be a childish fear, yet is there at the leastwise some fear; and herein is there none at all. And verily, I

have often heard of sanctuary-men, but I never heard erst of sanctuary-children.

"And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, whoso may have deserved to need it, if they think it for their surety, let them keep it. But he can be no sanctuary-man who neither hath wisdom to desire it, nor malice to deserve it; whose life or liberty can by no lawful process stand in jeopardy. And he who taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary."

When the duke had done, the temporal men wholly, and good part of the spiritual also, thinking none hurt earthly meant toward the young babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not delivered he should be fetched. Howbeit they thought it all best, in the avoiding of all manner of rumour, that the lord cardinal should first essay to get him with her good-will; and thereupon all the council came unto the star-chamber at Westminster. And the lord cardinal, leaving the protector with the council in the star-chamber, departed into the sanctuary to the queen, with divers other lords with him; were it for the respect of his honour, or that she should, by presence of so many, perceive that this errand was not one man's mind; or were it for that the protector intended not in this matter to trust any one man alone; or else, that if she finally were determined to keep him, some of that company had haply secret instruction, incontinent maugre his mind, to take him, and to leave her no respite to convey him, which she was likely to mind

after this matter broken to her if her time would in anywise serve her.

When the queen and these lords were come together in presence, the lord cardinal shewed unto her, that it was thought unto the protector and unto the whole council, that her keeping of the king's brother in that place was the thing which highly sounded, not only to the great rumour of the people and their obloquy, but also to the insupportable grief and displeasure of the king's royal majesty. To whose Grace it were as singular comfort to have his natural brother in company, as it was their both dishonour, and all theirs and hers also, to suffer him in sanctuary; as though the one brother stood in danger and peril of the other.

And he shewed her, that the council therefore had sent him unto her, to require her the delivery of him; that he might be brought unto the king's presence at his liberty, out of that place which they reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate. And she in this doing, should both do great good to the realm, pleasure to the council and profit to herself, succour to her friends who were in distress, and over that (which he wist well she specially tendered), not only great comfort and honour to the king, but also to the young duke himself. Whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for many greater causes, as also for their both disport and recreation. Which thing the lords esteemed no slight, though it seem light; well pondering that their youth without re-

creation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger for the convenience of their both ages and estates so metely in that point for any of them, as either of them for other.

'My lord,' quoth the queen, 'I say not nay but that it were very convenient, that this gentleman whom you require, were in the company of the king his brother. And in good faith methinketh, it were as great commodity to them both, as for yet a while, to be in the custody of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but specially the younger. Who, beside his infancy that also needeth good looking-to, hath a while been so sore diseased, vexed with sickness, and is so newly rather a little amended than well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but myself only. Considering that there is, as physicians say, and as we also find, double the peril in the recidivation that was in the first sickness; with which disease nature being fore-laboured, fore-wearied and weakened, waxeth the less able to bear-out a new surfeit. And albeit there might be founden others who would haply do their best unto him, yet is there none who either knoweth better how to order him than I who so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish him than his own mother who bare him.'

'No man denieth, good madam,' quoth the cardinal, 'but that your Grace were of all folk most necessary about your children. And so would all the council not only be content, but also glad that you were, if it might stand with

your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you appoint yourself to tarry here, then think they yet more convenient, that the duke of York were with the king honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, than here as a sanctuary-man to their both dishonour and obloquy. Since there is not alway so great necessity to have the child be with the mother, but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to keep him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth; that at such time as your dearest son, then prince and now king, should, for his honour and good order of the country, keep household in Wales, far out of your company, your Grace was well content therewith yourself.'

'Not very well content,' quoth the queen, 'and yet the case is not like. For the one was then in health, and the other is now sick. In which case I marvel greatly that my lord protector is so desirous to have him in his keeping, where, if the child in his sickness miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my child's honour and theirs also, that he abideth in this place, it is all their honours there to suffer him abide where no man doubteth he shall be best kept. And that is here, while I am here; who as yet intend not to come forth and jeopard myself after other of my friends, who would God were rather here in surety with me than I were there in jeopardy with them!'

'Why madam,' quoth another lord, 'know you any thing why they should be in jeopardy?'

'Nay, verily, sir,' quoth she, 'nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is I trow no great marvel, though I fear, lest those who have not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause.'

The cardinal made a countenance to the other lord, that he should harp no more upon that string. And then said he to the queen, that he nothing doubted, but that those lords of her honourable kin, who as yet remained under arrest, should, upon the matter examined, do well enough. And as toward her noble person, neither was there nor could be, any manner of jeopardy.

'Whereby should I trust that,' quoth the queen. 'In that I am guiltless?—as though they were guilty; in that I am with their enemies better beloved than they?—when they hate them for my sake; in that I am so near of kin to the king?—and how far be they off, if that would help, as God send grace it hurt not! And therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my son, I mind that he shall be where I am till I see farther. For I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy, without any substantial cause, to have him, this maketh me much the more farther to deliver him.'

'Truly madam,' quoth he, 'and the farther that you be to deliver him, the farther be other men to suffer you to keep him, lest your causeless fear might cause you farther to convey him. And many be there who think, that he can have no privilege in this place, who neither can have will to ask it nor malice to deserve it. And therefore they reckon no privilege broken though they fetch him out; which, if you finally refuse to deliver him, I verily think they will. So much dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest your Grace should hap to send him away.'

'Ah sir,' quoth the queen, 'hath the protector so tender zeal to him, that he feareth nothing but lest he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, who neither is in the plight to send out, and in what place could I reckon him sure if he be not sure in this, the sanctuary whereof was there never tyrant yet so devilish that durst presume to break? And I trust God as strong now to withstand his adversaries as ever he was! But my son can deserve no sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it; forsooth he hath founden a goodly gloss by which that place that may defend a thief may not save an innocent! But he is in no jeopardy nor hath no need thereof; would God he had not! Troweth the protector (I pray God he may prove a protector!) troweth he that I perceive not whereunto his painted process draweth?

'It is not honourable that the duke abide here; it were

comfortable for them both that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a playfellow be ye sure. I pray God send them both better playfellows than him, who maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext. As though there could none be founden to play with the king, but if his brother, who hath no lust to play for sickness, come out of sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him! As though princes as young as they be could not play but with their peers, or children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse than with strangers! But the child cannot require the privilege; who told him so? he shall hear him ask it an he will.

'Howbeit this is a gay matter. Suppose he could not ask it, suppose he would not ask it, suppose he would ask to go out, if I say he shall not, if I ask the privilege but for myself, I say he who against my will taketh out him breaketh the sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my person only, or for my goods too? Ye may not hence take my horse from me, and may ye take my child from me? He is also my ward; for, as my learned counsel sheweth me, since he hath nothing by descent holden by knight's service, the law maketh his mother his guardian. Then may no man I suppose take my ward from me out of sanctuary, without the breach of the sanctuary. And if my privilege could not serve him, nor he ask it for himself, yet since the law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him; except the law give a child a guardian only for his

goods and his lands, discharging him of the cure and safe-keeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods serve.

'And if examples be sufficient to obtain privilege for my child, I need not far to seek. For in this place in which we now be, and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it, mine other son, now king, was born, and kept in his cradle, and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And, as all ye know, this is not the first time that I have taken sanctuary. For, when my lord my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdom, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bare the prince. And when my lord my husband returned safe again and had the victory, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe, the prince, unto his father, when he first took him in his arms. And I pray God that my son's palace may be as great safeguard to him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the king's enemy. In which place I entered to keep his brother since.

'Wherefore, here intend I to keep him, since man's law serveth the guardian to keep the infant. The law of nature wills the mother keep her child. God's law privilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary my son; since I fear to put him in the protector's hands, who hath his brother already, and were, if both failed, inheritor to the crown. The cause of my fear hath no man to do to examine. And yet

fear I no farther than the law feareth; which, as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the custody of them by whose death he may inherit less land than a kingdom. I can no more. But whosoever he be who breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of sanctuary when he may not come to it; for, taken out of sanctuary, would I not my mortal enemy were.'

The lord cardinal perceiving that the queen waxed ever the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speak sore biting words against the protector, and such as he neither believed and was also loath to hear, he said unto her for a final conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter. But if she were content to deliver the duke to him and to the other lords there present, he durst lay his own body and soul both in pledge, not only for his surety but also for his estate. And if she would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithal, and shift whoso would with this business afterward; for he never intended more to move her in the matter, in which she thought that he and all other also save herself, lacked either wit or truth. Wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceive what the protector intended; truth, if they should procure her son to be delivered into his hands, in whom they should perceive toward the child any evil intended.

The queen with these words stood a good while in a great study. And, forasmuch her seemed the cardinal more

ready to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himself ready at hand, so that she verily thought she could not keep him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence; and to convey him elsewhere neither had she time to serve her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things unready; this message came on her so suddenly, nothing less looking-for than to have him fetched out of sanctuary, which she thought to be now beset in such places about that he could not be conveyed-out untaken; and partly, as she thought it might fortune her fear to be false, so well she wist it was either needless or bootless; wherefore, if she should needs go from him, she deemed it best to deliver him. And over that, of the cardinal's faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither whom she there saw; who, as she feared lest they might be deceived, so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. Then thought she, it should yet make them the more warily to look to him and the more circumspectly to see to his surety, if she with her own hands betook him to them of trust. And at the last, she took the young duke by the hand, and said unto the lords,

'My lord,' quoth she, 'and all my lords, I neither am so unwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths. Of which thing I purpose to make you such a proof, as, if either of both lacked in you, might turn both me to great sorrow, the realm to much harm, and you to great reproach. For lo here is,' quoth she, 'this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here keep safe

if I would, whatsoever any man say. And I doubt not also but there be some abroad so deadly enemies unto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their own body, they would let it out. We have also had experience, that the desire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred. The brother hath been the brother's bane; and may the nephews be sure of their uncle? Each of these children is other's defence while they be asunder, and each of their lives lieth in the other's body. Keep one safe, and both be sure; and nothing for them both more perilous, than to be both in one place. For what wise merchant adventureth all his good in one ship?

'All this notwithstanding, here I deliver him, and his brother in him, to keep into your hands; of whom I shall ask them both afore God and the world. Faithful ye be, that wot I well; and I know well, ye be wise. Power and strength to keep him if ye list, neither lack ye of yourselves, nor can lack help in this cause. And if ye cannot elsewhere, then may ye leave him here. But only one thing I beseech ye, for the trust that his father put in ye ever, and for the trust that I put in ye now, that as far as ye think that I fear too much, be ye well aware that ye fear not as far too little.'

And therewithal she said unto the child, *farewell my own sweet son, God send you good keeping, let me kiss you once yet ere you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again.* And therewith she kissed him and blessed him,

turned her back and wept and went her way, leaving the child weeping as fast.

When the lord cardinal, and these other lords with him, had received this young duke, they brought him into the star-chamber, where the protector took him into his arms and kissed him with these words, *now welcome my lord ever with all my very heart;* and he said in that, of likelihood, as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him to the king, his brother, into the bishop's palace, at Paul's; and from thence through the city honourably into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad.

When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himself more boldly, both to certain other men, and also chiefly to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that many thought that this duke was privy to all the protector's counsel even from the beginning; and some of the protector's friends said, that the duke was the first mover of the protector to this matter, sending a privy messenger to him straight after King Edward's death; but others again, who knew better the subtle wit of the protector, deny that he ever opened his enterprise to the duke, until he had brought to pass the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the queen's kinsfolks, and gotten both her sons into his own hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with less fear, to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and specially to the duke, who being

won to his purpose, he thought his strength more than half increased.

The matter was broken unto the duke by subtle folks, and such as were their craft-masters in the handling of such wicked devices. Who declared unto him, that the young king was offended with him for his kinsfolks' sakes, and that if he were ever able he would revenge them. Who would prick him forward thereunto if they escaped, for they would remember their imprisonment; or else if they were put to death, without doubt the young king would be careful for their deaths whose imprisonment was grievous unto him. And that with repenting the duke should nothing avail. For there was no way left to redeem his offence by benefits, but he should sooner destroy himself than save the king; who, with his brother and his kinsfolks, he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a beck destroy them all; and that it were no doubt but he would do it indeed, if there were any new enterprise attempted. And that it was likely, that as the protector had provided privy guard for himself, so had he spials for the duke and trains to catch him, if he should be against him; and that peradventure from them whom he least suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whom he might trust or whom he might fear.

These things and such like being beaten into the duke's mind, brought him to that point, that where he had repent-

ed the way that he had entered, yet would he go forth in the same; and since he had once begun, he would stoutly go through. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he believed could not be avoided, he bent himself and went through; and determined, that since the common mischief could not be amended, he would turn it as much as he might to his own commodity.

Then it was agreed, that the protector should have the duke's aid to make him king; and that the protector's only lawful son should marry the duke's daughter; and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldom of Hertford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could never obtain it in King Edward's time. Beside these requests of the duke, the protector, of his own mind, promised him a great quantity of the king's treasure and of his household stuff.

And when they were thus at a point between themselves, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the young king, as they would have it seem. And that they might turn both the eyes and minds of men from perceiving of their drifts otherwhere, the lords, being sent for from all parts of the realm, came thick to that solemnity. But the protector and the duke, after that they had set the lord cardinal, the archbishop of York, then lord-chancellor, the bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, and the Lord Hastings, then lord-chamberlain, with many other noblemen, to commune and devise about the coronation in one place, as fast

were they in another place contriving the contrary, and to make the protector king.

To which counsel albeit there were adhibit very few, and they very secret, yet began there, here and there about, some manner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared nor wherefore; were it that, before such great things men's hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgive them, as the sea without wind swelleth of itself sometime before a tempest; or were it that, some one man haply somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing itself made men to muse on the matter, though the council were close. For, by little and little, all folk withdrew from the Tower, and drew to Crosbie's-place in Bishopsgate-street, where the protector kept his household. The protector had the resort, the king in a manner desolate. While some for their business made suit to them who had the doing, some were by their friends secretly warned, that it might haply turn them to no good, to be too much attendant about the king, without the protector's appointment. Who removed also divers of the prince's old servants from him, and set new about him.

Thus many things coming together, partly by chance, partly of purpose, caused at length, not common people only, who wave with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke, to mark the matter and muse thereon. So far

forth that the Lord Stanley, who was afterward earl of Derby, wisely mistrusted it, and said unto the Lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two several councils. 'For while we,' quoth he, 'talk of one matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they talk in the other place.'

'My lord,' quoth the Lord Hastings, 'on my life never doubt you. For, while one man is there, who is never thence, never can there be thing once minded that should sound amiss toward me, but it should be in my ears ere it were well out of their mouths.'

This meant he by Catesby, who was of his near secret counsels, and whom he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust, reckoning himself to no man so lief. Since he well wist, there was no man to him so much beholden as was this Catesby; who was a man well learned in the laws of this land, and, by the special favour of the lord-chamberlain, in good authority, and much rule bare in all the county of Leicester, where the lord-chamberlain's power chiefly lay. But surely great pity was it, that he had not had either more truth or less wit; for his dissimulation only kept all that mischief up. In whom, if the Lord Hastings had not put so special trust, the Lord Stanley and he had departed with divers other lords, and broken all the dance, for many ill signs that he saw, which he now construes all to the best; so surely thought he that there could be none harm toward him in that council intended, where Catesby was.

And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made very good semblance unto the Lord Hastings, and kept him much in company. And undoubtedly the protector loved him well, and loath was to have lost him, saving for fear lest his life should have quailed their purpose. For which cause he moved Catesby to prove, with some words cast-out a far off, whether he could think it possible to win the Lord Hastings into their party. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported unto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speak so terrible words, that he durst no farther break. And of truth the lord-chamberlain, of very trust, shewed unto Catesby the mistrust that others began to have in the matter. And therefore, he fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings minish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death, to obtain much of the rule which the Lord Hastings bare in his country; the only desire whereof, was the elective which induced him to be partner and one special contriver of all this horrible treason.

Whereupon soon after, that is, to-wit, on the Friday the —— day of ——— many lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in council, devising the honourable solemnity of the king's coronation, of which the time appointed then so near approached, that the pageants and subtelties were in making day and night at Westminster, and much victual killed therefore that afterward was cast away. These lords

so sitting together, communing of this matter, the protector came in among them, first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously, and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merrily that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said unto the bishop of Ely, *my lord you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn, I require you let us have a mess of them. Gladly my lord,* quoth he, *would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that;* and therewith in all haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries.

The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. And soon after one hour, between 10 and 11, he returned into the chamber among them, all changed, with a wonderful sour, angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and frothing and gnawing on his lips; and so sat him down in his place, all the lords much dismayed and sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail.

Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began; what were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the king, and protector of his royal person and his realm? At this question all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the lord-chamberlain, as he

who for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered, and said that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whoever they were. And all the others affirmed the same. *That is* (quoth he) *yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and another with her*, meaning the queen.

At these words, many of the other lords were greatly abashed who favoured her. But the Lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moved by her, than by any other whom he loved better. Albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not before made of counsel in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred and of their putting to death; who were, by his assent before, devised to be beheaded at Pomfret this self same day, on which he was not aware that it was by others devised, that himself should the same day be beheaded at London.

Then said the protector, *ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body.* And therewith he plucked-up his doublet-sleeve to his elbow, upon his left arm, where he shewed a werish withered arm and small, as it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave him, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel. For well they wist, that the queen was too wise to go about any such folly. And also, if she would, yet would she, of all folk, least make Shore's wife of counsel, whom of all women she

most hated, as that concubine whom the king her husband had most loved. And also no man was there present but well knew, that his arm was ever such since his birth.

Nevertheless the lord-chamberlain (who from the death of King Edward kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, saving, as it is said, he that while forbare her of reverence toward his king, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend), answered, and said, *certainly my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.*

*What*, quoth the protector, *thou servest me I ween with ifs and with ands; I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor.* And therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap; at which token given, one cried *treason* without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in came there rushing, men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the Lord Hastings, *I arrest thee traitor. What me my lord?* quoth he. *Yea thee traitor*, quoth the protector. And another let fly at the Lord Stanley, who shrunk at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for, as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears.

Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers chambers; except the lord-chamberlain, whom the protector bad speed and shrive him apace, *for by St. Paul*, quoth he, *I will not*

*to dinner till I see thy head off.* It booted him not to ask *why;* but heavily he took a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift; for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not go to till this were done, for saving of his oath. So was he brought-forth into the green, beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber, and there striken off; and afterward his body with the head interred at Windsor, beside the body of King Edward; whose both souls our Lord pardon!

A marvellous case is it to hear, either the warnings of that he should have avoided, or the tokens of that he could not avoid. For the self night next before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a trusty secret messenger unto him at midnight in all haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to abide; he had so fearful a dream, in which him thought, that a boar with his tusks so razed them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the protector gave the boar for his cognizance, this dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry; but had his horse ready, if the Lord Hastings would go with him, to ride so far yet that same night, that they should be out of danger ere day.

'Ey good lord,' quoth the Lord Hastings to this messenger, 'leaneth my lord thy master so much to such trifles,

and hath such faith in dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth, or do rise in the night's rest by reason of his day thoughts. Tell him it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams. Which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not, that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought back (as friends fail fliers), for then had the boar a cause likely to raze us with his tusks, as folk who fled for some falsehood? Wherefore either is there no peril, nor none there is indeed; or if any be, it is rather in going than abiding. And if we should needs-cost fall in peril one way or other, yet had I lever, that men should see it were by other men's falsehood, than think it were either our own fault or faint heart. And therefore go to thy master, man, and commend me to him, and pray him be merry and have no fear; for I insure him, I am as sure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of my own hand.'

*God send grace, sir,* quoth the messenger, and went his way.

Certain is it also, that in the riding toward the Tower, the same morning on which he was beheaded, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him almost to the falling. Which thing, albeit each man wot well [illegible]ly happeneth to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it been, of an old rite and custom, observed as a token, oftentimes notably foregoing some great misfortune.

Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enemous scorn. The same morning, ere he were up, came a knight unto him, as it were of courtesy to accompany him to the council, but of truth sent by the protector to haste him thitherward, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose; a mean man at that time, and now of great authority. This knight, when it happened the lord-chamberlain by the way, to stay his horse and commune a while with a priest, whom he met in the Tower-street, brake his tale and said merrily to him, *what my lord, I pray you come-on, whereto talk you so long with that priest, you have no need of a priest yet*; and therewith he laughed upon him, as though he would say, *you shall have soon.* But so little wist the other what he meant, and so little mistrusted, that he was never merrier, nor never so full of good hope in his life. Which self thing is often seen a sign of change.

But I shall rather let any thing pass me, than the vain surety of man's mind so near his death. Upon the very Tower-wharf, so near the place where his head was off so soon after, there met he with one Hastings, a pursuivant, of his own name. And on their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord-chamberlain had been accused unto King Edward, by the Lord Rivers, the queen's brother, in suchwise, that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) far fallen into the king's indignation, and stood in great fear of himself. And forasmuch as he

now met this pursuivant in the same place, that jeopardy so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talk with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place while he was therein. And therefore he said, *ah Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with an heavy heart? Yea my lord,* quoth he, *that remember I well; and, thanked be God! they gat no good, nor you none harm thereby. Thou wouldest say so,* quoth he, *if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet and more shall shortly.* That meant he by the lords of the queen's kindred, who were taken before and should that day be beheaded at Pomfret; which he well wist, but nothing aware that the axe hung over his own head. *In faith, man,* quoth he, *I was never so sorry, nor never stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned; now stand mine enemies in the danger (as thou mayest hap to hear more hereafter) and I never in my life so merry, nor never in so great surety.*

O! good God, the blindness of our mortal nature! When he most feared, he was in good surety; when he reckoned himself surest, he lost his life, and that within two hours after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemy, and secret to his friend; easy to beguile, as he who of good heart and courage forestudied no perils. A loving man and passing well beloved; very faithful and trusty enough; trusting too much.

Now flew the fame of this lord's death swiftly through the city, and so forth farther about, like a wind in every man's ear. But the protector, immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantial men out of the city into the Tower. And at their coming, himself with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should ween that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessity had constrained them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord-chamberlain, and others of his conspiracy, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the duke, there, that same day, in the council. And what they intended farther was as yet not well known. Of which their treason he never had knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoon; which sudden fear, drave them to put-on, for their defence, such harness as came next to hand; and so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned upon them who would have done it. And this he required them to report.

Every man answered him fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man believed. Yet for the farther appeasing of the people's mind, he sent immediately after dinner in all haste, one herald of arms, with a proclamation, to be made through the city in the king's name, containing, that the Lord Hastings, with divers others of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired, that same day to have slain the lord protector and the duke of Buck-

ingham, sitting in the council; and after, to have taken upon them to rule the king and the realm at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoil whom they list uncontrouled.

And much matter was there in the proclamation devised, to the slander of the lord-chamberlain. As, that he was an evil counsellor to the king's father, enticing him to many things highly redounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the universal hurt of his realm, by his evil company, sinister procuring and ungracious example; as well in many other things, as in the vicious living and inordinate abuse of his body, both with many others, and also specially with Shore's wife, who was one also of his most secret counsel of this heinous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely the night last past, next before his death. So that it was the less marvel, if ungracious living brought him to an unhappy ending. Which he was now put unto, by the most dread commandment of the king's highness and of his honourable and faithful council; both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely-conceived treason; and also, lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some great commotion for his deliverance. Whose hope now being by his well deserved death politicly repressed, all the realm should, by God's grace rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two hours after

that he was beheaded. And it was so curiously indited, and so fair written on parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of itself so long a process, that every child might well perceive that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death and the proclaiming, could scant have sufficed unto the bare writing alone, all had it been but on paper and scribbled-forth in haste at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one who was schoolmaster of Pauls, of chance standing by and comparing the shortness of the time with the length of the matter, said unto them who stood about him, *here is a gay goodly cast, foul cast away for haste.* And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophecy.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for courtesy, the protector sent unto the house of Shore's wife (for her husband dwelled not with her) and spoiled her of all that ever she had above the value of two or three marks, and sent her body to prison. And when he had awhile laid unto her, for the manner sake, that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsel with the lord-chamberlain to destroy him, in conclusion, when that no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he laid heinously to her charge, the thing that herself could not deny, that all the world wist was true, and that nevertheless every man laughed-at to hear it then so suddenly so highly taken, *that she was nought of her body.*

And for this cause, as a goodly continent prince, clean

and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners, he caused the bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before the cross in procession upon a Sunday, with a taper in her hand. In which she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit she were out of all array save her kirtle only, yet went she so fair and lovely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in her cheeks (of which she before had most miss), that her great shame wan her much praise, among those who were more amorous of her body than curious of her soul. And many good folk also, who hated her living, and glad were to see sin corrected, yet pitied they more her penance than rejoiced therein, when they considered, that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent than any virtuous affection.

This woman was born in London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought-up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon; her husband an honest citizen, young and goodly and of good substance. But, forasmuch as they were coupled ere she was well ripe, she not very fervently loved for whom she never longed. Which was haply the thing that the more easily made her incline unto the king's appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his royalty, the hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth, were able soon to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the king had abused her, anon her husband, as he was an honest man, and one who could his

good, not presuming to touch a king's concubine, left her up to him all together. When the king died, the lord-chamberlain took her; who, in the king's days, albeit he was sore enamoured upon her, yet he forbare her, either for reverence or for a certain friendly faithfulness.

Proper she was and fair; nothing in her body that you would have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. Thus say they who knew her in her youth; albeit some who now see her (for yet she liveth) deem her never to have been well visaged. Whose judgment seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should guess the beauty of one long before depárted, by her scalp taken out of the charnel house. For now is she old, lean, withered, and dried up, nothing left but shrivelled skin and hard bone. And yet, being even such, whoso well advise her visage, might guess and devise, which parts, how filled, would make it a fair face.

Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty, as in her pleasant behaviour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write; merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometimes taunting without displeasure and not without disport. The king would say that he had three concubines, who, in three divers properties, diversly excelled. One the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in his realm, as one whom no man could get out of the church lightly to any place, but it were to his bed. The other two

were somewhat greater personages, and nevertheless, of their humility, content to be nameless, and to forbear the praise of those properties. But the merriest, was this Shore's wife, in whom the king therefore took special pleasure, for many he had, but her he loved.

Whose favour, to say the truth, (for sin it were to belie the devil) she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief. Where the king took displeasure, she would mitigate, and appease his mind. Where men were out of favour, she would bring them in his grace. For many who had highly offended, she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission. And finally, in many weighty suits, she stood many men in great stead, either for none or very small rewards, and those rather gay than rich; either for that she was content with the deed itself well done, or for that she delighted to be sued unto and to shew what she was able to do with the king, or for that wanton women and wealthy be not alway covetous.

I doubt not, some shall think this woman too slight a thing, to be written of and set among the remembrances of great matters. Which they shall specially think, who haply shall esteem her only by that they now see her. But meseemeth the chance so much the more worthy to be remembered, in how much she is now in the more beggarly condition, unfriended and worn-out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great favour with the prince, after as great suit and seeking-to with all those who those days

had business to speed, as many other men were in their times, who be now famous only by the infamy of their ill-deeds. Her doings were not much less, albeit they be much less remembered, because they were not so evil. For men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble; and whoso doth us a good turn, we write it in dust. Which is not worst proved by her; for at this day she beggeth of many at this day living, who at this day had begged if she had not been.

Now was it so devised by the protector and his council, that the self day on which the lord-chamberlain was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the self-same hour, was there, not without his assent, beheaded at Pomfret, the fore-remembered lords and knights, who were taken from the king at Northampton and Stony Stratford. Which thing was done in the presence and by the order of Sir Richard Ratclif, knight, whose service the protector specially used in the counsel and in the execution of such lawless enterprises; as a man who had been long secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bold in mischief, as far from pity as from all fear of God. This knight, bringing them out of the prison to the scaffold, and shewing to the people about, that they were traitors, not suffering them to speak and declare their innocence, lest their words might have inclined men to pity them and to hate the protector and his party, caused them hastily, without judgment, process, or manner of order, to be behead-

ed; and without other earthly guilt, but only that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queen.

Now when the lord-chamberlain and these other lords and knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then thought the protector, that while men mused what the matter meant, while the lords of the realm were about him out of their own strength, while no man wist what to think nor whom to trust, ere ever they should have space to dispute and digest the matter and make parties, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himself in possession of the crown ere men could have time to devise any ways to resist. But now was all the study, by what mean this matter, being of itself so heinous, might be first broken to the people in suchwise, that it might be well taken. To this counsel they took divers, such as they thought meetly to be trusted, likely to be induced to the party, and able to stand them in stead either by power or policy.

Among whom, they made of counsel Edmund Shaw, knight, then mayor of London, who, upon trust of his own advancement, whereof he was, of a proud heart, highly desirous, should frame the city to their appetite. Of spiritual men, they took such as had wit, and were in authority among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they John Shaw, clerk, brother to the mayor, and Friar Penker, provincial of the Augustin friars; both doctors of divinity, both great

preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning; for they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that never.

Of these two, the one had a sermon in praise of the protector, before the coronation, the other after; both so full of tedious flattery, that no man's ears could abide them. Penker, in his sermon, so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst. Doctor Shaw, by his sermon, lost his honesty, and soon after his life; for very shame of the world, into which he durst never after come abroad. But the friar feared for no shame, and so it harmed him the less. Howbeit some doubt and many think, that Penker was not of counsel of the matter before the coronation, but, after the common manner, fell to flattery after; namely, since his sermon was not incontinent upon it, but at S^t^. Mary hospital, at the Easter after. But certain is it that Dr. Shaw was of counsel in the beginning; so far forth, that they determined that he should first break the matter in a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he should, by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the protector's ghostly purpose.

But now was all the labour and study, in the device of some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to depose the prince and accept the protector for king. In which, divers things they devised; but the chief thing, and the weighty of all that invention, rested in this, that they should allege bastardy, either in King Edward

himself, or in his children, or both; so that he should seem disabled to inherit the crown by the duke of York, and the prince by him. To lay bastardy on King Edward, sounded openly to the rebuke of the protector's own mother, who was mother to them both; for in that point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was an adultress, which notwithstanding, to farther this purpose he letted not. But nevertheless he would that point should be less and more favourably handled; not even fully plain and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslope craftily, as though men spared in that point to speak all the truth, for fear of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardy that they devised to surmise in King Edward's children, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about King Edward's marriage.

After that King Edward IV had deposed King Henry VI, and was in peaceable possession of the realm, determining himself to marry, as it was requisite both for himself and for the realm, he sent over in embassy the earl of Warwick, with other noblemen in his company, unto Spain, to entreat and conclude a marriage between King Edward and the king's daughter of Spain. In which thing the earl of Warwick found the parties so toward and willing, that he speedily, according to his instructions, without any difficulty, brought the matter to very good conclusion.

Now happened it, that in the mean season, there came to make a suit by petition to the king, Dame Elizabeth Gray, who was afterward his queen, at that time a widow, born of noble blood, specially by her mother, who was duchess of Bedford ere she married the Lord Wodefeld her father. Howbeit this Dame Elizabeth herself being in service with Queen Margaret, wife unto King Henry VI, was married unto one —— Gray, a squire, whom King Henry made knight upon the field that he had on —— at ——— against King Edward; and little while enjoyed he that knighthood, for he was at that same field slain. After which done, and the earl of Warwick being on his embassy about the afore-remembered marriage, this poor lady made humble suit unto the king, that she might be restored unto such small lands as her late husband had given her in jointure.

Whom when the king beheld and heard her speak, as she was both fair, of a good favour, moderate of stature, well made, and very wise, he not only pitied her but also waxed enamoured of her; and taking her afterward secretly aside, began to enter in talking more familiarly. Whose appetite when she perceived, she virtuously denied him; but that did she so wisely, and with so good manner and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after many a meeting, much wooing and many great promises, she well espied the king's affection toward her so greatly increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly say her mind, as to him whose heart she perceived more firmly set than to fall-off for a

word. And in conclusion she shewed him plainly, that as she wist herself too simple to be his wife, so thought she herself too good to be his concubine.

The king much marvelling of her constancy, as he who had not been wont elsewhere to be so stifly said *nay*, so much esteemed her continence and chastity, that he set her virtue in the stead of possession and riches; and thus taking counsel of his desire, determined in all possible haste to marry her. And after he was thus appointed, and had between them twain insured her, then asked he counsel of his other friends, and that in such manner, as they might easy perceive it booted not greatly to say *nay*.

Notwithstanding, the duchess of York, his mother, was so sore moved therewith, that she dissuaded the marriage as much as she possibly might; alleging, that it was his honour, profit, and surety also, to marry in a noble progeny out of his realm; whereupon depended great strength to his estate, by the affinity and great possibility of increase of his possessions. And that he could not well otherwise do, standing that the earl of Warwick had so far moved already, who was not likely to take it well, if all his voyage was in suchwise frustrate and his appointments deluded. And she said also, that it was not princely to marry his own subject, no great occasion leading thereunto, no possessions or other commodities depending thereupon; but only as it were a rich man who would marry his maid, only for a little wanton dotage upon her person; in which

marriage, many more commend the maiden's fortune than the master's wisdom. And yet there she said was more honesty than honour in this marriage; forasmuch as there is between no merchant and his own maid, so great difference as between the king and this widow. In whose person albeit there was nothing to be misliked, yet was there she said nothing so excellent but that it might be found in divers others, *who were more meetly* (quoth she) *for your estate, and maids also; whereas the only widowhood of Elizabeth Gray, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice as meseemeth to refrain you from her marriage. Since it is an unfitting thing, and a very blemish and high disparagement to the sacred majesty of a prince, who ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignity, to be befouled with bigamy in his first marriage.*

The king, when his mother had said, made her answer part in earnest, part in play merely, as he who wist himself out of her rule; and albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his own mind took she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfy her, he said, that albeit marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made for the respect of God where his grace inclineth the parties to love together (as he trusted it was in his) than for the regard of any temporal advantage, yet nevertheless him seemed that this marriage, even worldly considered, was not unprofitable. For he reckoned the amity of no earthly nation so necessary for him, as the friendship

of his own; which he thought likely to bear him so much the more hearty favour, in that he disdained not to marry with one of his own land. And yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he would find the means to enter thereinto much better by others of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marry himself whom he should haply never love, and, for the possibility of more possessions, lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if he be wived against his appetite.

And I doubt not,' quoth he, 'but there be, as you say, others who be in every point comparable with her; and therefore I let not them who like them to wed them. No more is it reason that it mislike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwick neither loveth me so little to grudge at that I love, nor is so unreasonable to look that I should in choice of a wife rather be ruled by his eye than by mine own; as though I were a ward who were bound to marry by the appointment of a guardian. I would not be a king with that condition, to forbear mine own liberty in choice of my own marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in strange lands, it is often the occasion of more trouble than profit; and we have already title by that means to so much, as sufficeth to get and keep well in one man's days. That she is a widow and hath already children—by God's blessed lady I am a batchelor and have some too! And so each of us hath a proof that neither of us is like to

be barren. And therefore madam I pray you be content. I trust in God she shall bring-forth a young prince who shall please you. And as for the bigamy—let the bishop hardly lay it in my way when I come to take orders; for I understand it is forbidden a priest, but I never wist it yet that it was forbidden a prince.'

The duchess with these words nothing appeased, and seeing the king so set thereon that she could not pull him back, so highly she disdained it, that, under pretext of her duty to Godward, she devised to disturb this marriage; and rather to help that he should marry one Dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the king had also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the king's mother objected openly against his marriage, as it were in discharge of her conscience, that the king was sure to Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and her husband before God. By reason of which words, such obstacle was made in the matter, that either the bishops durst not, or the king would not, proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till these same were clearly purged and the truth well and openly testified.

Whereupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for; and albeit that she was by the king's mother and many others put in good comfort, to affirm that she was ensured unto the king, yet when she was solemnly sworn to say the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured. Howbeit she said his grace spake so loving words unto her, that she verily hoped he would have married her; and that if it had

not been for such kind words, she would never have shewed such kindness to him to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnly taken, when it was clearly perceived that there was none impediment, the king with great feast and honourable solemnity married Dame Elizabeth Gray, and her crowned queen who was his enemy's wife, and many times had prayed full heartily for his loss; in which God loved her better than to grant her her boon.

But when the earl of Warwick understood of this marriage, he took it so highly that his embassy was deluded, that for very anger and disdain, he, at his return, assembled a great puissance against the king, and came so fast upon him ere he could be able to resist, that he was fain to void the realm and fly into Holland for succour: where he remained for the space of two years, leaving his new wife in Westminster in sanctuary, where she was delivered of Edward the prince, of whom we before have spoken. In which meantime, the earl of Warwick took out of prison and set-up again King Henry VI, who was before by King Edward deposed, and that muchwhat by the power of the earl of Warwick: who was a wise man and a courageous warrior, and of such strength what for his lands, his alliance, and favour with all the people, that he made kings and put down kings almost at his pleasure; and not impossible to have attained it himself, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king.

But nothing lasteth alway. For in conclusion, King Ed-

ward returned, and with much less number than he had, at Barnet, on the Easterday field, slew the earl of Warwick, with many other great estates of that party; and so stably attained the crown again, that he peaceably enjoyed it unto his dying day; and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost but by the discord of his very friends, or falsehood of his feigned friends.

I have rehearsed this business about this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appear, upon how slippery a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended King Edward's children to be bastards. But that invention, simple as it was, it liked them to whom it sufficed to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proof than themselves list to make.

Now then, as I began to shew you, it was by the protector and his council concluded, that this Dr. Shaw should, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, signify to the people, that neither King Edward himself, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten; nor were not the very children of the duke of York, but gotten unlawfully by other persons, by the adultery of the duchess their mother. And that also Dame Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of King Edward, and so the prince and all his children bastards, who were gotten upon the queen.

According to this device, Dr. Shaw, the Sunday after, at

Paul's cross, in a great audience (as alway assembled great numbers to his preaching) took for his theme *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas;* that is to say, *bastard slips shall never take deep root.* Thereupon when he had shewn the great grace that God giveth and secretly infoundeth in right generation after the laws of matrimony, then declared he that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents were for the more part unhappy, which were gotten in haste and specially in adultery. Of which, though some, by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge, inherited for the season other men's lands; yet God alway so provideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth coming to light, the rightful inheritors be restored, and the bastard slip pulled-up ere it can be rooted deep.

And when he had laid for the proof and confirmation of this sentence certain examples taken out of the Old Testament and other ancient histories, then began he to descend into the praise of the Lord Richard late duke of York, calling him father to the lord protector, and declared the title of his heirs unto the crown, to whom it was, after the death of King Henry VI, entailed by authority of parliament. Then shewed he that his very right heir of his body, lawfully begotten, was only the lord protector; for he declared then, that King Edward was never lawfully married unto the queen, but was before God husband unto Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children bastards. And beside that, neither King Edward himself nor the duke of Clarence,

among those who were secret in the household, were reckoned very surely for the children of the noble duke, as those who by their favours more resembled other known men than him; from whose virtuous conditions, he said also that King Edward was far off. But the lord-protector, he said, that very noble prince, that special pattern of knightly prowess, as well in all princely behaviour as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, represented the very face of the noble duke his father. *This is,* quoth he, *the father's own figure, this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness, of that noble duke.*

Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the protector should have come-in among the people to the sermon ward. To the end that, those words meeting with his presence, might have been taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the preacher's mouth; and should have moved the people even there, to cry *King Richard! King Richard!* that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God and in manner by miracle. But this device quailed, either by the protector's negligence, or the preacher's over-much diligence. For while the protector found by the way tarrying, lest he should prevent those words; and the doctor, fearing that he should come ere his sermon could come to those words, hasted his matter thereto; he was come to them and past them, and entered into other matters ere the protector came.

Whom when he beheld coming, he suddenly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any deduction thereunto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words again,—*this is that very noble prince, that special pattern of knightly prowess; who, as well in all princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble duke of York, his father. This is that father's own figure, this his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness of the noble duke, whose remembrance can never die while he liveth.*

While these words were in speaking, the protector, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonly stand in the upper story; where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so far from crying *King Richard!* that they stood as they had been turned into stones for wonder of this shameful sermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home and never after durst look out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owl. And when he once asked one who had been his old friend, what the people talked of him; all were it that his own conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every man's mouth spoken of him much shame, it so struck him to the heart, that within few days after he withered and consumed away.

Then, on the Tuesday following this sermon, there came unto the Guildhall in London, the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with divers lords and knights, more than haply knew the message that they brought. And there, in the east end of the hall, where the mayor keepeth the hustings, the mayor and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the city gathered before them, after silence commanded upon great pain in the protector's name, the duke stood up; and, as he was neither unlearned, and of nature marvellously well spoken, he said unto the people with a clear and a loud voice in this manner of wise.

"Friends! For the zeal and hearty favour that we bear you, we be come to break unto you of a matter right great and weighty; and no less weighty, than pleasing to God and profitable to all the realm; nor to no part of the realm more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble city. For why? That thing that we wot well ye have long time lacked and sore longed for, that ye would have given great good for, that ye would have gone far to fetch, that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour, pain, cost, adventure, or jeopardy. What thing is that? Certes the surety of your own bodies, the quiet of your wives and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods. Of all which things, in times past ye stood evermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, who would reckon himself lord of his own good, among so many grenades and traps as were set therefore; among so much pilling and polling; among so

many taxes and tallages, of which there was never end, and oftentime no need; or if any were, it rather grew of riot and unreasonable waste, than any necessary or honourable charge.

'So that there was daily pilled from good men and honest, great substance of goods to be lavished out among unthrifts. So far forth, that fifteenths sufficed not, nor any usual names of known taxes; but, under an easy name of benevolence and goodwill, the commissioners so much of every man took, as no man would with his goodwill have given. As though the name of benevolence had signified, that every man should pay not what himself of his good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Who never asked little; but every thing was hanced above the measure,—amercements turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespass to misprision, misprision into treason. Whereof I think no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name. As though Burdet were forgotten, who was, for a word spoken in haste, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realm for the prince's pleasure; with no less honour to Markham then chief justice (who left his office rather than he would assent to that judgment), than to the dishonesty of those who, either for fear or flattery, gave that judgment. What Coke, your own worshipful neighbour, alderman and mayor of this noble city,—who is of you either so negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetful that he remembereth not, or so hard hearted that he pitieth not, that worshipful man's

loss? What speak we of loss!—his utter spoil and undeserved destruction, only for that it happened those to favour him whom the prince favoured not.

'We need not I suppose to rehearse of these any more by name. Since there be I doubt not many here present, who, either in themselves or their nigh friends, have known as well their goods as their persons greatly endangered, either by feigned quarrels, or small matters aggreived with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lack a pretext. For since the king, preventing the time of his inheritance, attained the crown by battle, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to have been of kindred or alliance, near familiarity or lieger acquaintance, with any of those who were at any time the king's enemies; which was, at one time and other, more than half the realm.

'Thus were neither your goods in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardy, beside the common adventure of open war. Which albeit that it is ever the will and occasion of much mischief, yet is it never so mischievous, as where any people fall at distance among themselves; nor in none earthly nation so deadly and so pestilent, as when it happeneth among us; and among us never so long-continued dissention, nor so many battles in the season, nor so cruel and so deadly fought, as was in the king's days who dead is, God forgive it his soul! In whose time and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the

garland, keeping it, losing and winning again, it hath cost more English blood than hath twice the winning of France. In which inward war among ourselves, hath been so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realm, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land; beside many a good town ransacked and spoiled, by them who have been going to the field or coming from thence. And peace, long after, not much surer than war.

'So that no time was there, in which rich men for their money and great men for their lands, or some others for some fear or some displeasure, were out of peril. For whom trusted he who mistrusted his own brother? whom spared he who killed his own brother? or who could perfectly love him, if his own brother could not? What manner of folk he most favoured, we shall for his honour spare to speak of. Howbeit this wot ye well all, that whoso was best, bare alway least rule. And more suit was in his days unto Shore's wife, a vile and an abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England, except unto those who made her their proctor. Which simple woman was well named and honest, till the king, for his wanton lust and sinful affection, bereft her from her husband, a right honest substantial young man among you. And in that point (which in good faith I am sorry to speak of, saving that it is in vain to keep in counsel that thing which all men know), the king's greedy appetite was insatiable, and everywhere over all the realm intolerable. For no woman was there

anywhere, young or old, rich or poor, whom he set his eye upon, in whom he any thing liked, either person or favour, speech, pace or countenance, but, without any fear of God or respect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunely pursue his appetite and have her; to the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to her husband and her other friends; who, being honest people of themselves, so much regard the cleanness of their house, the chastity of their wives and their children, that them were lever to lose all that they have beside, than to have such a villany done them.

'And all were it that with this and other importable dealing the realm was in every part annoyed, yet specially ye here, the citizens of this noble city. As well for that among you is most plenty of all such things as minister matter to such injuries, as for that ye were nearest at hand; since that near here about was commonly his most abiding. And yet be ye the people whom he had as singular cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of his realm. Not only for that the prince by this noble city, as his special chamber and the special well-renowned city of his realm, much honourable fame receiveth among all other nations; but also for that ye, not without your great cost and sundry perils and jeopardies, in all his wars bare ever your special favour to his part. Which your kind minds borne to the house of York since he hath nothing worthily acquitted, there is of that house who now by God's grace better shall.

Which thing to shew ye, is the whole sum and effect of this our present errand.

'It shall not I wot well need, that I rehearse ye again that ye have already heard, of him who can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better believe it. And reason is that it so be. I am not so proud to look therefore, that ye should reckon my words of as great authority as the preacher's of the word of God; namely, a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better wotteth what he should say; and thereto so good and virtuous, that he would not say the thing which he wist he should not say, in the pulpit namely, into which none honest man cometh to lie. Which honourable preacher, ye well remember, substantially declared unto you at Paul's Cross on Sunday last past, the right and title that the most excellent prince, Richard duke of Gloucester, now protector of this realm, hath unto the crown and kingdom of the same. For, as that worshipful man groundly made open unto ye, the children of King Edward IV were never lawfully begotten. Forasmuch as the king (living his very wife, Dame Elizabeth Lucy) was never lawfully married unto the queen their mother; whose blood, saving that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full unmetely to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose bloods together, hath been the effusion of great part of the noble blood of this realm. Whereby it may well seem that marriage not well made, of which there is so much mischief grown.

'For lack of which lawful accoupling, and also of other things —— which the said worshipful doctor rather signified than fully explained, and which things shall not be spoken of me, as the thing wherein every man forbeareth to say that he knoweth, in avoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing as nature requireth a filial reverence to the duchess his mother ——— for those causes I say before remembered; that is, to-wit, for lack of other issue lawfully coming of the late noble prince, Richard duke of York (to whose royal blood the crown of England and of France is by the high authority of parliament entailed) the right and title of the same is, by the just course of inheritance according to the common law of this land, devolute and come unto the most excellent prince the lord protector, as to the very lawfully-begotten son of the fore-remembered noble duke of York. Which thing well considered, and the great knightly prowess pondered, with manifold virtues which in his noble person singularly abound, the nobles, and commons also, of this realm, and specially of the north parts, not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abuses before in the same used any longer to continue, have condescended and fully determined, to make humble petition unto the most puissant prince the lord protector, *that it may like his grace, at our humble request, to take upon him the guiding and governance of this realm, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his very right and just title.*

'Which thing, I wot it well, he will be loath to take;

upon him; as he whose wisdom well perceiveth, the labour and study both of mind and of body that shall come therewith, to whomsoever so well occupy that room, as I dare say he will if he take it. Which room I warn ye well is no child's office; and *that* the great wise man well perceived when he said *veh regno cujus rex puer est, woe is that realm that hath a child to their king.* Wherefore so much the more cause have we to thank God, that this noble personage who is so righteously entitled thereunto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisdom, joined with so great experience. Who, albeit, he will be loath, as I have said, to take it upon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciously incline, if ye, the worshipful citizens of this the chief city of this realm, join with us, the nobles, in our said request. Which for your own weal we doubt not but ye will; and nevertheless I heartily pray ye so to do. Whereby ye shall do great profit to all this realm beside, in choosing them so good a king, and unto yourselves special commodity. To whom his majesty shall ever after bear so much the more tender favour, in how much he shall perceive ye the more prone and benevolently minded toward his election. Wherein, dear friends, what mind ye have, we require ye plainly to shew us.'

When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whom he hoped that the mayor had framed before, should, after this proposition made, have cried *King Richard! King Richard!* all was hushed and mute, and not one word answered thereunto. Wherewith the duke was marvellously

abashed; and taking the mayor nearer to him, with others who were about him privy to that matter, said unto them softly, *what meaneth this, that this people be so still? Sir,* (quoth the mayor) *percase they perceive you not well. That shall we mend* (quoth he) *if that will help.* And by and by, somewhat louder he rehearsed them the same matter again, in other order and other words; so well and ornately, and nevertheless so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled who heard him, and thought that they never had in their lives heard so evil a tale so well told. But were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people who stood before, but all was as still as the midnight; not so much as rowning among them, by which they might seem to commune what was best to do.

When the mayor saw this, he, with other partners of that counsel, drew about the duke and said, that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken unto but by the recorder, who is the mouth of the city, and haply to him they will answer. With that the recorder, called Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest, who was so new come into that office that he never had spoken to the people before, and loath was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding, thereunto commanded by the mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that the duke had twice rehearsed them himself; but the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed every thing as the duke's words, and no part his

own.' But all this nothing no change made in the people, who, alway after one, stood as they had been men amazed. Whereupon the duke rowned unto the mayor and said, *this is a marvellous obstinate silence;* and therewith he turned unto the people again with these words.

'Dear friends, we come to move ye to that thing, which peradventure we not so greatly needed, but that the lords of this realm and the commons of other parts might have sufficed; saving that we such love bear ye, and so much set by ye, that we would not gladly do without ye that thing, in which to be partners is your weal and honour, which as it seemeth either ye see not or weigh not. Wherefore we require ye give us answer one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not?'

At these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarm of bees. Till at the last, in the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the duke's servants and Nashefeld's, and others belonging to the protector, with some apprentices and lads who thrust into the hall among the press, began suddenly at men's backs to cry-out as loud as their throats would give, *King Richard! King Richard!* and threw-up their caps in token of joy; and they who stood before, cast-back their heads, marvelling thereof, but nothing they said.

And when the duke and the mayor saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose; and said, it was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear, every man with one voice, no man saying *nay*. 'Wherefore, friends,' quoth the duke, 'since that we perceive it is all your whole minds to have this noble man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace so effectual report, that we doubt not but it shall redound unto your great weal and commodity) we require ye that ye to-morrow go with us, and we with ye, unto his noble grace, to make our humble request unto him in manner before remembered. And therewith the lords came down, and the company dissolved and departed; the more part all sad; some with glad semblance who were not very merry; and some of those who came thither with the duke not able to dissemble their sorrow, were fain at his back to turn their face to the wall, while the dolour of their hearts burst-out at their eyes.

Then on the morrow after, the mayor with all the aldermen and chief commoners of the city, in their best manner apparelled, assembling themselves together, resorted unto Baynard's Castle, where the protector lay. To which place repaired also, according to their appointment, the duke of Buckingham, with divers noblemen with him, beside many knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent word unto the lord-protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to move a great matter unto his grace.

Whereupon the protector made difficulty to come out unto them, but if he first knew some part of their errand; as though he doubted and partly distrusted the coming of such a number unto him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge whether they came for good or harm. Then the duke when he had shewn this unto the mayor and others, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent unto him by the messenger such loving message again, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would unto none other person any part disclose, that at the last he came forth of his chamber, and yet not down unto them; but stood above in a gallery over them, where they might see him and speak to him, as though he would not yet come too near them till he wist what they meant.

And thereupon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition unto him on the behalf of them all, that his grace would pardon them and licence them to propose unto his grace the intent of their coming, without his displeasure; without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to move him of that matter. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his grace as wealth to all the realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in nowise offend.

Then the protector, as if he was very gentle of himself, and also longed sore to wit what they meant, gave him

leave to propose what him liked, verily trusting, for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them any thing would intend unto himward wherewith he ought to be grieved.

When the duke had this leave and pardon to speak, then waxed he bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto as ye before have heard. And finally to beseech his grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodness and zeal unto the realm, now with his eye of pity to behold the long-continued distress and decay of the same. And to set his gracious hands to the redress and amendment thereof, by taking upon him the crown and governance of this realm, according to his right and title lawfully descended unto him; and to the laud of God, profit of the land, and unto his grace's so much the more honour and less pain, in that never prince reigned upon any people who were so glad to live under his obeisance, as the people of this realm under his.

When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat; and answered, that all were it that he partly knew the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entire love he bare unto King Edward and his children, that he so much more regarded his honour in other realms about than the crown of any one (of which he was never desirous) that he could not find in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations where the truth were not well known, it should per-

adventure be thought that it were his own ambitious mind and device, to depose the prince and take himself the crown; with which infamy he would not have his honour stained for any crown. In which he had ever perceived much more labour and pain than pleasure, to him whoso would so use it as, he who would not, were not worthy to have it. Notwithstanding, he not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the love and hearty favour they bare him. Praying them, for his sake, to give and bear the same to the prince; under whom he was and would be content to live, and with his labour and counsel, as far as should like the king to use him, he would do his uttermost endeavour to set the realm in good state. Which was already in this little while of his protectorship (the praise given to God) well begun. In that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now, partly by good policy, partly more by God's special providence than man's provision, repressed.

Upon this answer given, the duke, by the protector's licence, a little rowned, as well with other noblemen about him, as with the mayor and recorder of London. And after that, upon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed aloud unto the protector for a final conclusion, that the realm was appointed, *King Edward's line should not any longer reign upon them;* both for that they had so far gone that it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weal universal to take that way, although they

had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crown upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto. If he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary (which they would be loath to hear) then must they needs seek, and should not fail to find, some other nobleman who would.

These words much moved the protector; who else, as every man may wit, *would never of likelihood have inclined thercunto.* But when he saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said unto the lords and commons;

'Since we perceive well that all the realm is so set; whereof we be very sorry that they will not suffer in anywise King Edward's line to govern them, whom no man earthly can govern against their wills; and we well also perceive, that no man is there to whom the crown can by so just title appertain as to ourself, as very right heir, lawfully begotten, of the body of our most dear father Richard late duke of York; to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we of all titles possible take for most effectual; we be content and agree favourably to incline to your petition and request. And according to the same, here we take upon us the royal estate, pre-eminence and kingdom of the two noble realms, England and France; the one, from this day forward by us and our heirs to rule, govern, and defend; the other, by God's grace and your good help, to get again and subdue,

and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realm of England; the advancement whereof, we never ask of God longer to live, than we intend to procure.'

With this there was a great shout, crying *King Richard! King Richard!* And then the lords went-up to the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diversly of the matter, every man as his fantasy gave him.

But much they talked and marvelled of the manner of this dealing; that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had ever communed with other thereof before, when that themselves well wist, there was no man so dull who heard them, but he perceived well enough that all the matter was made between them. Howbeit some excused that again, and said, all must be done in good order though; and men must sometimes for the manner's sake not be known what they know. For at the consecration of a bishop, every man wotteth well by the paying for his bulls, that he purposeth to be one; and though he pay for nothing else, yet must he be twice asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twice say *nay*, and at the third time take it as compelled thereunto beside his own will. And in a stage play, all the people know right well that he who playeth the sovereign is percase a sutler. Yet if one should ken so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his own name while he standeth in his majesty, one

of his tormentors might hap to break his head, and worthily, for marring of the play. And so they said, that these matters be kings' games, as it were stage-plays, and for the more part played upon scaffolds; in which poor men be but the lookers-on, and they who wise be will meddle no farther. For they who sometimes step-up and play with them, when they cannot play their parts, they disorder the play and do themselves no good.

The next day, the protector, with a great train, went to Westminster-hall. And there, when he had placed himself in the court of the King's-bench, declared to the audience, that he would take upon him the crown in that place there, where the king himself sitteth and ministreth the law; because he considered that it was the chiefest duty of a king to minister the laws. Then, with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win unto him, the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion, all kind of men; but specially the lawyers of this realm. And finally, to the intent that no man should hate him for fear, and that his deceitful clemency might get him the good-will of the people, when he had declared the discommodity of discord, and the commodities of concord and unity, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enmities, and that he there did openly pardon all offences committed against him. And to the intent that he might shew a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fogge, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought then before him. Who being brought out of the sanctuary by, for

thither had he fled for fear of him, in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people rejoiced at and praised, but wise men took it for a vanity. In his return homeward, whomsoever he met he saluted; for a mind that knoweth itself guilty, is in a manner dejected to a servile flattery.

When he had begun his reign the —— day of June, after this mockish election, then was he crowned the —— day of the same month. And that solemnity was furnished for the most part with the self same provision, that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew.

Now fell there mischiefs thick. And as the thing evil gotten is never well kept, through all the time of his reign never ceased there cruel death and slaughter, till his own destruction ended it. But, as he finished his time with the best death and the most righteous, that is, to-wit his own; so began he with the most piteous and wicked, I mean the lamentable murder of his innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother. Whose death and final infortune hath nevertheless so far come in question, that some remain yet in doubt whether they were in his days destroyed or no. Not for *that* only, that Perkin Warbecke, by many folks' malice and more folks' folly, so long space abusing the world, was, as well with princes as the poorer people, reputed and taken for the younger of those two. But for *that* also, that all things were in late days so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that

there was nothing so plain and openly proved but that yet, for the common custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect; as, many well-counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted.

Howbeit concerning that opinion, with the occasions moving either party, we shall have place more at large to entreat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memory King Henry VII, or percase that history of Perkin in any compendious process by itself. But in the meantime for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes; not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard, by such men and by such means, as methinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard, after his coronation, taking his way to Gloucester, to visit in his new honour the town of which he bare the name of his old, devised as he rode to fulfil that thing which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him, that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them; as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindly king. Whereupon he sent one John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brakenbery, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same Sir Robert should in anywise put the two children to death. This John Grene did his errand unto Brakenbery kneeling

before our Lady in the Tower; who plainly answered, that he would never put them to death, to die therefore. With which answer John Grene returning, recounted the same to King Richard at Warwick, yet on his way.

Wherewith he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night he said unto a secret page of his, *ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I have brought-up myself, those that I had weened would most surely serve me, even those fail me, and at my commandment will do nothing for me.*

*Sir*, quoth his page, *there lieth one on your pailet without, who I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse;* meaning this by Sir James Tyrel, who was a man of right goodly personage, and, for nature's gifts, worthy to have served a much better prince; if he had well served God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit. The man had an high heart and sore longed upward; not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept-under by the means of Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby; who longing for no more partners of the prince's favour, and namely not for him (whose pride they wist would bear no peer) kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust. Which thing this page well had marked and known. Wherefore, this occasion offered, of very special friendship, he took his time to put him forward, and by suchwise do him good, that all the enemies he had except the devil could never have done him so much hurt.

For upon this page's words King Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a convenient carpet for such a council), and came-out into the pailet-chamber; on which he found in bed Sir James and Sir Thomas Tyrel, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then said the king merrily to them, *what sirs be ye in bed so soon?* and calling-up Sir James, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter, in which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to Brakenbery with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver Sir James all the keys of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the king's pleasure in such thing as he had given him commandment. After which letter delivered and the keys received, Sir James appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, devising before and preparing the means.

The prince, as soon as the protector left that name and took himself as king, had it shewed unto him that he should not reign but his uncle should have the crown. At which word the prince sore abashed, began to sigh and said, *alas! I would my uncle would let me have my life yet though I lose my kingdom!* Then he who told him the tale used him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith were the prince and his brother both shut-up, and all others removed from them, only one called Black Will or William Slaughter excepted, set to serve them and see them sure. After which time, the prince never tied his

points nor aught rought of himself; but, with that young babe his brother, lingered in thought and heaviness, till this traitorous death delivered them of that wretchedness.

For Sir James Tyrel devised, that they should be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forest, one of the four who kept them, a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime. To him he joined one John Dighton, his own horse-keeper, a big, broad, square, strong knave. Then, all the others being removed from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton about midnight, the silly children lying in their beds, came into the chamber, and suddenly lapped them up among the clothes, so bewrapped them and entangled them, keeping down by force the feather-bed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while, smothered and stifled, their breath failing, they gave-up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed.

Whom after that the wretches perceived, first by the struggling with the pains of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughly dead, they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched Sir James to see them. Who, upon the sight of them, caused those murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones.

Then rode Sir James in great haste to King Richard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder; who gave

him great thanks, and as some say there made him knight. But he allowed not, as I have heard, *that* burying in so vile a corner, saying, that he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a king's sons,—lo! the honourable courage of a king! Whereupon, they say, that a priest of Sir Robert Brakenbery took-up the bodies again, and secretly interred them in such place, as, by the occasion of his death who only knew it, could never since come to light. Very truth is it, and well known, that at such time as Sir James Tyrel was in the Tower for treason committed against the most famous prince King Henry VII, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner above written. But whether the bodies were removed they could nothing tell.

And thus, as I have learned of them who much knew and little cause had to lie, were these two noble princes, these innocent tender children, born of most royal blood, brought-up in great wealth, likely long to live, to reign and rule in the realm, by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut-up in prison, and privily slain and murdered, their bodies cast God wot where; by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle and his dispiteous tormentors! Which things on every part well pondered, God never gave this world a more notable example, neither in what unsurety standeth this worldly well, or what mischief worketh the proud enterprise of an high heart, or finally what wretched end ensueth such dispiteous cruelty.

For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles Forest, at St. Martins, peicemeal rotted away. Dighton indeed yet walketh-on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die. But Sir James Tyrel died at Tower-hill, beheaded for treason. King Richard himself, as ye shall hereafter hear, slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, harried on horseback dead, his hair in despite torn and tugged like a cur dog. And the mischief that he took, within less than three years of the mischief that he did; and yet all the meantime spent in much pain and trouble outward, much fear, anguish and sorrow within. For I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done, he never had quiet in his mind, he never thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one alway ready to strike again. He took ill rest at nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. Troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes started he up, leapt out of his bed and ran about the chamber. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed!

Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon soon after began the conspiracy, or rather good confederation, between the duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen, against him.

The occasion whereupon the king and the duke fell-out, is of divers folk divers wise pretended. This duke, as I have for certain been informed, as soon as the duke of Gloucester upon the death of King Edward came to York, and there had solemn funeral service for King Edward, sent thither in the most secret wise he could one Persal, his trusty servant. Who came to John Warde, a chamberer, of like secret trust with the duke of Gloucester, desiring that in the most close and covert manner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his master. And the duke of Gloucester, advertised of his desire, caused him, in the dead of the night, after all other folk avoided, to be brought unto him in his secret chamber. Where Persal, after his master's recommendation shewed him, that he had secretly sent him to shew him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, and wait upon him with a thousand good fellows if need were.

The messenger sent back with thanks and some secret instruction of the protector's mind, yet met him again with farther message from the duke his master within few days after at Nottingham; whither the protector, from York, with many gentlemen of the north country, to the number of six hundred horse, was come on his way to Londonward. And after secret meeting and communication had, eftsoon departed. Whereupon, at Northampton, the duke met with the protector himself, with three hundred horse, and from thence still continued with him partner of all his devices, till that after his coronation they departed as it seem-

ed very great friends at Gloucester. From whence as soon as the duke came home, he so lightly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marvel whereof the change grew.

And surely the occasion of their variance is of divers men diversly reported. Some have I heard say, that the duke, a little before the coronation, among other things required of the protector the duke of Hertford's lands, to which he pretended himself just inheritor. And forasmuch as the title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crown, by that line of King Henry before deprived, the protector conceived such indignation, that he rejected the duke's request with many spiteful and minatory words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he never after could endure to look aright on King Richard; but ever feared his own life. So far forth that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feigned himself sick because he would not ride with him. And the other, taking it in evil part, sent him word to rise and come ride, or he would make him be carried. Whereupon he rode on with evil will; and *that* notwithstanding, on the morrow rose from the feast, feigning himself sick; and King Richard said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say that ever after, continually, each of them lived in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verily looked to have been murdered at Gloucester; from which nevertheless he in fair manner departed.

But surely some right secret at that day deny this. And many right wise men think it unlikely, the deep dissembling nature of those both men considered, and what need in that green world the protector had of the duke, and in what peril the duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant, that either the protector would give the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And utterly men think, that if King Richard had any such opinion conceived, he would never have suffered him to escape his hands. Very truth it is, the duke was an high minded man and evil could bear the glory of another. So that I have heard of some, who said they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crown was first set upon the protector's head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his head another way.

But men say that he was of truth not well at ease, and *that* both to King Richard well known and not ill-taken, nor any demand of the duke's uncourteously rejected; but he both with great gifts and high behests, in most loving and trusty manner, departed at Gloucester. But soon after his coming home to Brecknock, having there in his custody, by the commandment of King Richard, Dr. Morton, bishop of Ely, who, as ye before heard, was taken in the council at the Tower, waxed with him familiar. Whose wisdom abused his pride, to his own deliverance and the duke's destruction.

The bishop was a man of great natural wit, very well

learned, and honourable in behaviour, lacking no wise ways to win favour. He had been fast upon the part of King Henry, while that part was in wealth; and nevertheless left it not nor forsook it in woe; but fled the realm with the queen and the prince while King Edward had that king in prison, never came home but to the field, after which lost and the party utterly subdued, the other, for his fast faith and wisdom, not only was content to receive him, but also wooed him to come; and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust and very special favour. Which he nothing deceived. For he being, as ye have heard, after King Edward's death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the mean to set this duke in his top, joined gentlemen together in aid of King Henry, devising first the marriage between him and King Edward's daughter. By which, his faith declared, and good service to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the realm by the conjunction of those two bloods in one whose several titles had long inquieted the land, he fled the realm, went to Rome, never minding more to meddle with the world. Till that noble prince, King Henry VII, gat him home again, made him archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope joined the honour of cardinal. Thus living many days in as much honour as one man might well wish, ended them so godly, that his death with God's mercy well changed his life.

This man therefore, as I was about to tell ye, by that long and often-alternate proof as well of prosperity as ad-

verse fortune, had gotten by great experience, the very mother and mistress of wisdom, a deep insight in politic, worldly drifts. Whereby, perceiving now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with fair words and many pleasant praises. And perceiving, by the process of their communications, the duke's pride now and then balk out a little breed of envy toward the glory of the king, and thereby feeling him easy to fall out if the matter were well handled, he craftily sought the ways to prick him forward, taking alway the occasion of his coming, and so keeping himself close within his bonds, that he rather seemed him to follow him than to lead him.

For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew how much profit the realm should take by his reign, my Lord Morton answered, 'Surely, my lord, folly were it for me to lie. For if I would swear the contrary, your lordship would not I ween believe, but, that if the world would have gone as I would have wished, King Henry's son had had the crown and not King Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King Edward to reign, I was never so mad that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. So was I to King Edward faithful chaplain, and glad would have been that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit if the secret judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurn against a prick, nor labour to set-up *that* God pulleth-down. And as for the late protector and now king,'——and even there he left, saying that he had already meddled too much

with the world, and would from that day meddle with his book and his beads, and no farther.

Then longed the duke sore to hear what he would have said, because he ended with the king and there so suddenly stopped. And exhorted him so familiarly, between them twain to be bold to say whatsoever he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would ween; and that himself intended to use his faithful secret advice and counsel, which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the king to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himself at home, and else had he been put in the hands of them with whom he should not have founden the like favour.

The bishop right humbly thanked him, and said, 'In good faith, my lord, I love not much to talk much of princes, as a thing not all out of peril though the word be without fault; forasmuch as, it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the prince to construe it. And ever I think on Æsop's tale, that when the lion had proclaimed, that on pain of death there should none horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh fled away a great pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste? And he answered, *in faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts. What fool!* quoth the fox, *thou mayest*

*abide well enough, the lion meant not by thee, for it is none horn that is in thine head. No marry,* quoth he, *that wot I well enough; but what and he call it an horn, where am I then?'*

The duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, 'My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boar shall pike any matter at anything here spoken; for it shall never come near their ear.'

'In good faith, sir,' said the bishop, 'if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thank; and yet, taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to less.'

Then longed the duke yet much more to wit what it was. Whereupon the bishop said, 'In good faith, my lord, as for the late protector, since he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weal of this realm, whereof his grace hath now the governance, and whereof I am myself one poor member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities whereof he hath already right many, little needing my praise, it might yet have pleased God, for the better store, to have given him some of such other excellent virtues meet for the rule of a realm, as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace.'

# THOMÆ MORI

# POEMATA,

QUIBUS PRÆMISSA SUNT QUÆDAM IPSIUS ET GUILIELMI LILII PROGYMNASMATA.

# BEATUS RHENANUS

## BILIBALDO PIRCKHEIMERO,

### MAXIMILIANI CÆSARIS CONSILIARIO, & SENATORI NORIMBERGENSI,

S. D.

BELLE prorsus convenire mihi visum fuit, clarissime Bilibalde, si Thomæ Mori illius Britanniæ decoris Epigrammata, quæ nuper Erasmus noster Roterodamus ad me misit, tibi nominatim inscriberem: siquidem multis adeò rebus similes inter vos estis. Uterque Jurisperitus, uterque cùm Romanè, tum Græcè doctus, uterque non in publicis modò suæ civitatis functionibus versans, sed et ob singularem negotiorum explicandorum dexteritatem, et in dandis consiliis prudentiam, suo quisque Principi charissimus: ille potentissimo Britannorum Regi Henrico, tu sacratissimo Cæsari Maximiliano. Nam quid de fortunis attinet commemorare, quas utrique possidetis amplissimas, ut vel hoc quicquid est ornamenti, quod ex divitiis accedere putatur, neutri desit, quin potius edendis virtutum, maximè liberalitatis, exemplis abunde supersit materia. Sed et utrique pater obtigit non minus literis, quam senatoria familia clarus. Itaque cum amicitiæ similitudo sit autor et æqualitas, hanc Mori fœturam tibi nuncupare congruentissimum duxi, ut quem multis alioqui nominibus amore prosequeris, de his etiam Epigrammatis impensius complectaris, ames, magnifacias. Huc adde, quod nemini

rectius mitti poterant hi lepidissimi lusus, quam ei, qui in hanc, quod aiunt, arenam aliquando sit descendere solitus. Nam is demum noverit, quàm sit egregia res doctum epigramma, quisquis ipse fuerit suum nonnunquam ingenium in hoc exercitationis genere periclitatus. Sed enim, id quod te non latet, argutiam habeat epigramma cum brevitate conjunctam, sit festivum, et acclamatiunculis, quæ ἐπιφωνήματα Græci vocant, subinde claudatur. Quas sanè dotes omnes cumulatissimè licet in his Moricis epigrammatibus reperire, præsertim in his quæ ipse genuit: nam in cæteris, quæ è Græcis versa sunt, inventionis laus priscis tribuitur. Quanquam hic quoque non minus magni fieri meretur, commodè reddens ex aliena lingua, quàm scribens: labor certe vertentis sæpè major. Siquidem qui scribit, liber est, & inventioni liberè vacat: at qui transfert, ad aliud subinde respicere cogitur, nimirum ad id quod vertendum desumsit: quod quoties fit, multo plus sudat ingenium, quàm cum suum aliquid progignit. Utrobique sanè mirus est Thomas Morus: nam elegantissimè componit, & felicissimè vertit. Quàm fluunt suaviter hujus carmina! Quàm est hic nihil coactum! Quàm sunt omnia facilia! Nihil hic durum, nihil scabrum, nihil tenebricosum. Candidus est, argutus, Latinus. Porrò gratissima quadam festivitate sic omnia temperat, ut nihil unquam viderim lepidius. Crediderim ego Musas quicquid usquam est jocorum, leporis, salium, in hunc contulisse. Quàm lusit eleganter ad Sabinum alienos pro suis tollentem liberos. Quàm salsè Lalum ridet, qui videri Gallus tam ambitiose cupiebat? Sunt autem hujus sales nequaquam mordaces, sed candidi, melliti, blandi, & quidvis potius quam amarulenti. Jocatur etiam, sed ubique citra dentem: ridet, sed citra contumeliam. Jam inter epigrammatographos Pontanum & Marullum inprimis hodie miratur Italia: at dispeream, si non tantundem in hoc est naturæ, utilitatis verò plus. Nisi si quis inde magnopere se credit juvari, dum suam Neæram celebrat Marullus, & in multis ἀνιτ[ε]ίαι, Heraclitum quendam agens: aut dum Jovius Pontanus veterum nobis Epigrammatistarum nequitias refert,

quibus nihil sit frigidius, & boni viri lectione magis indignum, ne dicam Christiani. Scilicet usque adeò vetustatem istis æmulari cordi fuit: quam ne contaminarent, sic à sacris abstinuerunt, ut à Græcis olim Pomponius Lætus, ne Romanæ linguæ castimoniam violaret, homo superstitiosè Romanus. Cæterùm quemadmodum hi lusus Mori ingenium ostendunt & insignem eruditionem, sic judicium nimirum acre, quod de rebus habet, ex Utopia cumulatissimè eluxerit. De qua paucis obiter meminero, quòd hanc accuratissimus in literis Budæus, incomparabilis ille melioris eruditionis antistes, & ingens atque adeò unicum Galliarum decus, ita ut decebat, luculenta præfatione laudavit. Habet ea hoc genus decreta, qualia nec apud Platonem, nec apud Aristotelem, aut etiam Justiniani vestri Pandectas sit reperire. Et docet minus forsan philosophicè, quam illi, sed magis Christianè. Quanquam (audi per Musas bellam historiam) cum hic nuper in quodam gravium aliquot Virorum consessu, Utopiæ mentio orta fuisset, & illam ego laudibus veherem, negabat quidam pinguis, plus habendum Moro gratiæ, quàm Actuario cuipiam scribæ, qui in curia aliorum sententias duntaxat enotet, doriphorematis ritu (quod aiunt) interim assidendo, nihil ipse censens: quod diceret ea omnia ex Hythlodæi ore excepta, & à Moro tantum in literas missa. Proinde Morum nullo laudandum alioqui nomine, nisi quòd hæc commodè retulisset. Et non deerant, qui hominis judicio, velut rectissimè sentientis, album adjicerent calculum. Ἆρα ἃ σὺ τυτονὶ τοῦ Μώρυ χαριεντισμὸν δέχῃ, τοιύτυς ἄνδρας ἃ τὰς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ τὰς δοκίμυς, παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα θεολόγυς, πλανήσαντος. Postremo si hoc quoque scire cupis: Guilielmus Lilius, Mori sodalis, cum quo vertendis Græcis epigrammatibus jam olim collusit, quæ Progymnasmatum titulo sunt inscripta, Britannus est, vir omnifariam doctus, non modò Græcos autores, sed & ejus nationis mores vernaculos domesticè notos habens, ut qui in insula Rhodo fuerit aliquot annos commoratus: is nunc ludum literarium, quem Londini Coletus instituit, magna cum laude exercet. Quod superest, cum tibi per occupationes licebit, quibus in obeundis

legationibus administrandaque Republica, laboriosissimè distraheris, hoc libelli in manum cape, lege, & Moro, cujus os, ut puto, nondum vidisti, sed ex scriptis jampridem cognitum habes, fave. Bene vale clarissime vir. Basileæ, VII. Cal. Martias. M.D.XVIII.

## PROGYMNASMATA

# THOMÆ MORI ET GUILIELMI LILII,

### SODALIUM.

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ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΙΟΥ.

Μυν ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ φιλάργυρος εἶδεν ἐν οἴκῳ,
Καὶ τί ποιεῖς, φησιν, φίλτατε μοῦ παρ' ἐμοί;
Ηδὺ δὲ μῦς γελάσας, μηδὲν φίλε, φησὶ, φοβηθῇς,
Οὐχὶ τροφῆς παρὰ σοὶ χρήζομεν, ἀλλὰ μονῆς.

T. MORI IN AVARUM.

Murem Asclepiades ut apud se vidit avarus,
Mus quid in æde facis, dixit, amice mea?
Mus blandè arridens, tolle, inquit, amice timorem:
Hic ego non victum quæro, sed hospitium.

G. LILII.

Murem Asclepiades in tecto vidit avarus,
Et quid apud me ô mus, inquit, amice facis?
Mus ridens, inquit, nihil ô verearis amice:
Non abs te victum, sed mihi quæro domum.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Πλοῦτον μὲν πλουτοῦντος ἔχεις, ψυχὴν δὲ πένητος,
Ω τοῖς κληρονόμοις πλούσιε, σοὶ δὲ πένης.

G. LILII IN AVARUM.

Divitias locupletis habes, animam sed egeni:
Hæredi ô dives, sed tibi solus egens.

T. MORI.

Divitias locupletis habes, inopis tibi mens est,
O miser hæredi dives, inopsque tibi.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ.

Ἀγρὸς ἀχαιμενίδου γενόμην ποτὲ, νῦν δὲ μενίππου,
Καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑτέρου βήσομαι εἰς ἕτερον.
Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔχειν μέ ποτ' ᾤετο καὶ πάλιν ἄτος
Οἴεται ἐμοὶ δ' ὅλως ἀδεινὸς, ἀλλὰ τύχης.

G. LILII DE POSSESSIONIBUS INCERTIS.

Nuper Achæmenidæ, sed nunc sumus arva Menippi,
Et nunc hunc rursus, nunc alium petimus.
Ille item nuper, nunc et nos alter habere
Se putat: at nobis nil nisi casus inest.

T. MORI.

Nuper Achæmenidæ fueram, nunc ecce Menippi:
Atque alium rursus deveniam ex alio.
Me proprium nunc iste putat, proprium ille putabat:
Ast ego nullius sum, nisi sortis ager.

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Σώματα πολλὰ τρέφειν, καὶ δώματα πολλ' ἀνεγείρειν,
Ἀτραπὸς εἰς πενίην ἐστὶν ἑτοιμοτάτη.

T. MORI DE LUXU IMMODICO.

Multas ædificare domos, et pascere multos,
Est ad pauperiem semita recta quidem.

G. LILII.

Corpora multa alere, et complures ponere sedes,
Ipsa est ad summam semita pauperiem.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ.

Ὡς τιθηξόμενος τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυε,
Ὡς δὲ βιωσόμενος, φείδεο σῶν κτεάνων.
Ἐσὶ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἔτος, ὃς ἄμφω ταῦτα νοήσας,
Φειδοῖ, καὶ δαπανῇ μέτρον ἐφημόσατο.

G. LILII DE MODERATO SUMTU.

Divitiis utare tuis, tanquam moriturus:
Tanquam victurus, parcito divitiis.
Vir sapiens est ille quidem, qui hæc ambo volutans
Parcit, quique modum sumtibus applicuit.

T. MORI.

Tanquam jam moriturus partis utere rebus:
Tanquam victurus denuò parce tuis.
Ille sapit, qui perpensis his ritè duobus,
Parcus erit certo munificusque modo.

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε, τὸν λιμέν' ἔγνον·
Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χ' ὑμῖν, παίζετε τὼς μετ' ἐμέ.

T. MORI DE CONTEMPTU FORTUNÆ.

Jam portum inveni, Spes et Fortuna valete:
Nil mihi vobiscum est, ludite nunc alios.

G. LILII.

Inveni portum, Spes et Fortuna valete:
Nil mihi vobiscum, ludite nunc alios.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Γῆς ἐπέβην γυμνὸς, γυμνὸς θ' ὑπο γαῖαν ἄπειμι,
Καὶ τί μάτην μοχθῶ, γυμνὸν ὁμῶν τὸ τέλος.

## G. LILII DE MORTE.

Ingredior nudus terram, egredior quoque nudus,
Quid frustra studeo, funera nuda videns?

## T. MORI.

Nudus ut in terram veni, sic nudus abibo:
Quid frustra sudo, funera nuda videns?

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Οἶνός, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ, καὶ ἡ περὶ κύπριν ἐρωὴ,
Ὀξύτερον πέμπει τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀΐδην.

## T. MORI DE LUXU ET LIBIDINE.

Si quis ad inferos properet descendere manes,
Huc iter accelerant, balnea, vina, Venus.

## G. LILII.

Nos caligantis rapiunt ad tecta tyranni,
Præcipiti cursu, balnea, vina, Venus.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Οὐχ' ἕτω βλάπτει μισῆν ὁ λέγων ἀναφανδὸν,
Ὥσπερ ὁ τὴν καθαρὰν ψευδόμενος φιλίαν.
Τὸν μὲν γὰρ μισοῦντα προειδότες, ἐκτρεπόμεθα,
Τόνδε λέγοντα φιλεῖν, ἁ προφυλασσόμεθα.
Ἐχθρὸν ἐγὼ κεῖνον κρίνω βαρὺν, ὅς ποτε λάθῃ
Τὴν ἀπὸ τᾶς φιλίας πίστιν ἔχων, ἀδικεῖ.

## T. MORI DE FICTO AMICO.

Non æquè nocet hic, qui sese odisse fatetur,
Atque hic qui puram fingit amicitiam.
Osorem monitus fugio: fugiisse sed illum
Quomodo qui se me fingit amare, queo?
Pessimus hic certe est inimicus, quisquis amicus
Creditus, occulta subdolus arte nocet.

### G. LILII.

Non is tam lædit, liquidè qui dixerit, *odi*,
Quàm qui sinceram fingit amicitiam.
Vitabis certè quem noveris esse nocentem;
Ast illum nunquam qui tibi dixit, *amo*.
Ille mihi gravis est hostis, qui clam nocuisse
Gaudet, quique fidem fert in amicitia.

### ΕΙΣ ΛΑΚΑΙΝΑΝ, ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Γυμνὸν ἰδοῦσα λάκαινα παλίντροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο
Παῖδ' ἑὸν ἐις πάτραν ὠκυν ἱέντα πόδα,
Αντίη ἄιξασα, δι' ἥπατος ἤλασε λόγχην,
Αῤῥενα ῥηξαμένη φθόγγον ἐπὶ κταμενῷ.
Αλλότριον σπάρτας εἶπεν γρύος, ἔῤῥε πόθ' ᾅδαν,
Εῤῥ' ἐπεὶ ἐψεύσω πατρίδα, καὶ γενέτας.

### T. MORI DE MILITE SPARTANO.

In patriam amissis celeri pede dum redit armis,
Conspiciens gnatum sæva Lacæna suum,
Obvia sublata corpus transverberat hasta,
Hæc super occisum mascula verba loquens:
Degener ô Spartes genus, ito in Tartara tandem,
Ito, degeneras et patria et genere.

### G. LILII.

Quum nudum è bello gnatum remeare Lacæna
Vidit, et in patrios accelerare lares.
Insultans contrà, pectus trajecerat hasta,
Horrida in extinctum voce virago furens:
Spartanam quando es patriam mentitus, avosque,
Ad manes tandem degener, inquit, abi.

### ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ.

Χωλὸν ἔχεις τὸν νοῦν ὡς τὸν πόδα, καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς
Εἰκόνα τῶν ἐντὸς σὴ φύσις ἐκτὸς ἔχει.

## T. MORI IN CLAUDUM ET STUPIDUM.

Clauda tibi mens est, ut pes: natura notasque
Exterior certas interioris habet.

## G. LILII.

Tardus es ingenio, ut pedibus: natura etenim dat
Exterius specimen, quod latet interius.

### ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Εἰ μὲν ἦν μαθεῖν ἃ δεῖ παθεῖν,
Καὶ μὴ παθεῖν, καλὸν ἦν τὸ μαθεῖν.
Εἰ δὲ δεῖ παθεῖν ἃ δεῖ μαθεῖν,
Τί δεῖ μαθεῖν; παθεῖν γὰρ χρή.

## T. MORI, THEOPHRASTI APUD AULUM GELLIUM DILEMMA.

Si vitare queas, quæ sunt patienda, sciendo:
Scire quidem pulchrum, quæ paterere, foret.
Sin quæ præscieris vitandi est nulla potestas,
Quid præscire juvat, quæ patiere tamen?

## G. LILII.

Si posset casus quisquam præscire futuros:
Et vitare simul, scire suave foret.
Sin patienda tibi prorsus quæ scire requiris,
Quid præscisse juvat? namque necesse pati.

## T. MORI, CARMINE JAMBICO TRIMETRO.

Præscire si queas quæ oporteat pati,
Queasque non pati, bonum est ut præscias:
At si te oporteat, licet scias, pati,
Præscire quid juvat? necesse enim est pati.

### ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Δὶς δύ' ἀδελφὰς οὐδ' ἐπέσχει τάφος· ἓν γὰρ ἔπεσχον
Ἥμας καὶ γενέης οὐ δύο, καὶ θανάτου.

## T. MORI, IN DUOS FRATRES, UNO ET NATOS ET MORTUOS DIE.

Quatuor hic tumulus fratres complectitur: ex his
Lux simul una duos et parit, et perimit.

### G. LILII.

Quatuor hic tumulus fratres habet: una duobus
Lux et natalis, mortis et una fuit.

### ΑΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΝ.

Ζεὺς, κύκνῳ, ταύρῳ, σατύρῳ, χρυσὸς δ' ἔρωτα
Λήδης, ἰνδρώπης, ἀντιόπης, δανάης.

### T. MORI, DE JOVE MUTATO.

Taurus, Olor, Satyrusque ob amorem, et Jupiter aurum est,
Europes, Ledes, Antiopes, Danaes.

### G. LILII.

Taurus, Olor, Satyrus, per amorem Jupiter aurum,
Europæ, Ledes, Antiopæ, Danaes.

### ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Ἐννέα τὰς μούσας φασίν τινες ὡς ὀλιγώρως
Ἦν δὲ καὶ σαπφὼ λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.

### T. MORI, IN SAPPHO.

Musas esse novem referunt, sed prorsus aberrant:
Lesbica jam Sappho Pieris est decima.

### G. LILII.

Quàm temerè dixere novem quidam esse sorores
Musarum: en Sappho Lesbis adest decima.

### ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ.

Ἡ σάτυρος τὸν χαλκὸν ὑπέδραμεν, ἢ διὰ τέχνης
Χαλκὸς ἀναγκασθεὶς, ἀμφιχύθη σατύρῳ.

G. LILII, IN ÆREAM SATYRI STATUAM.

Aut Satyrus fusus circum æs, aut arte coactum
Illud idem circumfusum erat æs Satyro.

T. MORI.

Prorsum admiranda dum circumflectitur arte,
Aut Satyrum hoc tegit æs, aut Satyro æs tegitur.

EJUSDEM.

Aut isti Satyrus jam circumflectitur æri,
Aut isto Satyrus jam circumflectitur ære.

ΕΙΣ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΝΙΟΒΗΣ.

Ἐκ ζωῆς μὲ θεοὶ τεύξαν λίθον, ἐκ δὲ λίθοιο
Ζωὴν Πραξιτέλης ἔμπαλιν εἰργάσατο.

G. LILII, IN STATUAM NIOBES.

Ex vita saxum Diî me fecere: sed ipse
Ex saxo vitam denuò Praxiteles.

T. MORI.

Diî ex viva lapidem fecere: at quum lapis essem,
Me vivam fecit denuò Praxiteles.

ΣΙΜΩΝΙΔΟΥ.

Δῆμος ἀθηναίων σὲ νεοπτόλεμ' εἰκόνι τῇδε
Τίμησ' εὐνοίης, εὐσεβίης θ' ἕνεκα.

T. MORI, IN STATUAM NEOPTOLEMI.

Cecropis urbs te tota Neoptoleme hac statua ornat,
Ut faciat, faciunt hinc amor, hinc pietas.

G. LILII.

Hoc te donarat propter pietatem et amorem
Signo Cecropidûm turba, Neoptoleme.

PROGYMNASMATUM
THOMÆ MORI ET GUILIELMI LILII,
SODALIUM, FINIS.

# THOMÆ MORI

IN

INAUGURATIONEM REGIS ET REGINÆ

# CARMEN GRATULATORIUM.

## HENRICO VIII, ANGLIÆ REGI,

THOMAS MORUS, S.

VEREOR, Illustrissime Princeps, dum more virginum, quæ satis formæ suæ non fidunt, picturæ lenocinio gratiam illepidis versiculis comparare studeo, ne eos qua maximè dote placere potuissent, id est, ipsius rei novitate, fraudarim. Nam quum illicò in præsentem coronationem tuam conscriptos eos pictori exornandos dedissem, effecit certè podagra, qua protinus quàm opus inchoavit, incommodissimè tentatus est, ut eos nunc tandem, serius aliquanto quam res postulare videbatur, exhibeam. Itaque si tecum pro insita humanitate tua liberius agi sinis, haud scio, majoremne gratiam versiculis nostris pictoris manus adjecerint, an pedes ademerint. Quippe quibus effectum est, ut mihi verendum sit, ne non minus sera, ac proinde intempestiva, videri tibi possit hæc nostra gratulatio, quàm olim Tiberio Principi visa est Iliensium illa consolatio, qua eum de morte filii, jamdiu defuncti, consolobantur, quam ille faceta dicacitate delusit, respondens, se eorum quoque vicem dolere, quòd bonum militem amisissent Hectorem. Verùm eorum officium, ad luctum non senescentem modò, sed planè præmortuum, non potuit esse non ridiculum: meum verò ab hoc vitio vendicat immensa illa de celebri coronatione tua lætitia: quæ quum pectoribus omnium tam efficacem sui vim ac præsentiam impresserit, ut senescere vel integra ætate non possit, effecit nimirum, ut hoc meum officium non serò re peracta atque evanida, sed præsens in rem præsentem pervenisse videatur. Vale Princeps Illustrissime, et (qui novus ac rarus regum titulus est) amatissime.

IN SUSCEPTI DIADEMATIS DIEM

## HENRICI VIII, ILLUSTRISSIMI AC FAUSTISSIMI BRITANNIARUM REGIS, AC CATHARINÆ REGINÆ EJUS FELICISSIMÆ,

THOMÆ MORI,

LONDONIENSIS,

## CARMEN GRATULATORIUM.

Si qua dies unquam, si quod fuit, Anglia, tempus,
Gratia quo votis esset agenda tibi :
Hæc est illa dies niveo signanda lapillo,
Lœta dies fastis innumeranda tuis.
Meta hæc servitii est, hæc libertatis origo,
Tristitiæ finis, lætitiæque caput.
Nam juvenem secli decus ô memorabile nostri
Ungit, et in Regem præficit ista tuum.
Regem qui populi non unius usque, sed orbis
Imperio dignus totius unus erat.
Regem qui cunctis lacrymas detergat ocellis,
Gaudia pro longo substituat gemitu.
Omnia discussis arrident pectora curis,
Ut solet excussa nube nitere dies.
Jam populus vultu liber præcurrit amœno,
Jam vix lætitiam concipit ipse suam.
Gaudet, ovat, gestit, tali sibi Rege triumphat,
Nec quicquam nisi Rex quolibet ore sonat.
Nobilitas, vulgi jamdudum obnoxia feci,
Nobilitas, nimium nomen inane diu,
Nunc caput attollit, nunc tali Rege triumphat,
Et meritò : causas unde triumphet, habet.
Mercator variis deterritus antè tributis,
Nunc maris insuetas puppe resulcat aquas.

Leges invalidæ prius, imò nocere coactæ,
Nunc vires gaudent obtinuisse suas.
Congaudent omnes pariter, pariterque rependunt
Omnes venturo damna priora bono.
Jam quas abdiderat cæcis timor antè latebris,
Promere quisque suas gaudet et audet opes.
Jam juvat ô, potuit tot furum si qua tot uncas
Tam circumspectas fallere præda manus.
Non jam divitias ullum est (magnum esse solebat)
Quæsitas nullo crimen habere dolo.
Non metus occultos insibilat aure susurros:
Nemo quod taceat, quodve susurret, habet.
Jam delatores volupe est contemnere, nemo
Deferri, nisi qui detulit antè, timet.
Conveniunt igitur simul ætas, sexus, et ordo,
Causaque non ullum continet ulla domi,
Quo minus intersint, dum sacris rite peractis,
Rex init auspiciis regna Britanna bonis.
Quacunque ingreditur, studio conferta videndi
Vix sinit angustam turba patere viam.
Opplenturque domus, et pondere tecta laborant,
Tollitur affectu clamor ubique novo.
Nec semel est vidisse satis, loca plurima mutant,
Si qua rursus eum parte videre queant.
Ter spectare juvat: quidni hunc spectare juvaret,
Quo natura nihil finxit amabilius?
Mille inter comites excelsior omnibus extat,
Et dignum augusto corpore robur habet.
Nec minus ille manu est agilis, quàm pectore fortis:
Seu res districto debeat ense geri,
Seu quum protentis avidè concurritur hastis,
Seu petat oppositum missa sagitta locum.
Ignea vis oculis, Venus insidet ore, genisque
Est color, in geminis qui solet esse rosis.
Illa quidem facies alacri veneranda vigore
Esse potest teneræ virginis, esse viri.

Talis erat, Nympham quum se simulavit Achilles :
Talis, ubi Æmoniis Hectora traxit equis.
O si animi præstans unà cum corpore virtus
Cerni, natura non prohibente, queat.
Imò etiam vultu virtus pellucet ab ipso :
Est facies animi nuntia aperta boni.
Quàm matura gravi sedeat prudentia mente,
Quàm non solliciti pectoris alta quies,
Quoque modo sortem ferat et moderetur utramque,
Quanta verecundæ cura pudicitiæ,
Quàm tranquilla fovet placidum clementia pectus,
Quàm procul ex illo fastus abest animo :
Principis egregius nostri (quas fingere non est)
Præ se fert certus vultus et ipse notas.
At qua justitia est, regnandi quas habet artes,
Prosequitur populum qua pietate suum :
Hæc facilè ex vultu fiunt illustria nostro,
Hæc sunt ex nostris conspicienda bonis.
Quòd sic afficimur, quod libertate potimur,
Quodque abiere timor, damna, pericla, dolor :
Quòd rediere simul, pax, commoda, gaudia, risus,
Eximii virtus Principis inde patet.
Enervare bonas immensa licentia mentes,
Idque etiam in magnis assolet ingeniis.
At quamvis erat antè pius, mores tamen illi
Imperium dignos attulit imperio.
Nam bona quæ pauci sera fecere senecta,
Protinus in primo præstitit ille die.
Illicò correptos inclusit carcere, quisquis
Consilio regnum læserat antè malo.
Qui delator erat, vinclis constringitur arctis,
Ut mala quæ multis fecerat, ipse ferat.
Ad mercaturas aperit mare : si quod ab illis
Durius exactum est ante, remisit onus.
Despectusque diu Magnatum nobilis ordo,
Obtinuit primo pristina jura die.

Ille magistratus et munera publica, vendi
Quæ suevere malis, donat habenda bonis.
Et versis rerum vicibus feliciter, antè
Quæ tulit indoctus præmia, doctus habet.
Legibus antiquam (nam versæ evertere regnum
Debuerant) subitò vimque decusque dedit.
Omnis cumque prius prorsus desciscceret ordo,
Protinus est omnis redditus ordo sibi.
Quid quòd in his etiam voluit rescindere quædam,
Ut populo possit commodus esse suo :
Quæ tamen ante suo novit placuisse parenti,
Sic patriam, ut decuit, prætulit ille patri.
Nec miror : quid enim non Principe fiat ab illo,
Cui cultum ingenuis artibus ingenium est ?
Castàlio quem fonte novem lavere sorores,
Imbuit et monitis Philosophia suis.
Nominibus populus multis obnoxius omnis
Regi erat : hoc unum pertimuitque malum,
At Rex hinc metui quum posset, posset et inde
Congerere immensas, si voluisset, opes :
Omnibus ignovit, securos reddidit omnes,
Sollicitique malum sustulit omne metus.
Ergo alios populi reges timuere : sed istum,
Per quem nunc nihil est quod timeatur, amant.
Hostibus ô Princeps multum metuende superbis :
O populo Princeps non metuende tuo.
Illi te metuunt : nos te veneramur, amamus,
Illis noster erit, cur metuaris, amor.
Sic te securùm, demptoque satellite tutum,
Undique præstabunt, hinc amor, inde timor.
Extera bella quidem, coëat si Gallia Scotis,
Sit tantum concors Anglia, nemo timet.
At procul intestina aberunt certamina : nam quæ
Semina, quas causas, unde oriantur, habent ?
Primùm equidem de jure tuæ tituloque coronæ
Quæstio jam non est ulla, nec esse potest.

Quæ certare solet jam tu pars utraque solus ;
Nobilis hanc litem solvit uterque parens.
Ast magis abs te etiam est populi procul ira, tumultus
Impia civilis quæ solet esse caput.
Civibus ipse tuis tam charus es omnibus unus,
Ut nemo possit charior esse sibi.
Quòd si forte duces committeret ira potentes,
Solvetur nutu protinus illa tuo.
Tanta tibi est majestatis reverentia sacræ,
Virtutes meritò quam peperere tuæ.
Quæ tibi sunt, fuerant patrum quæcunque tuorum,
Sæcula prisca quibus nil habuere prius.
Est tibi namque tui Princeps prudentia patris,
Utque tibi [illegible] dextra benigna tuæ.
Est tibi meus [illegible] religiosa paternæ,
Est tibi materni nobile pectus avi.
Quid mirum ergo, novo si gaudeat Anglia more,
Cùm qualis nunquam rexerat antè, regat ?
Quid quod lætitia hæc quæ visa est non potuisse
Crescere, conjugio crevit adaucta tuo ?
Conjugio, superi quod decrevere benigni,
Quo tibi, quoque tuis consuluere bene.
Illa tibi conjunx, lætus communia tecum
Quam vidit populus sceptra tenere tuus :
Cujus habent tantam cælestia numina curam,
Ut thalamis ornent nobilitentque tuis.
Illa est, quæ priscas vincat pietate Sabinas,
Majestate sacras vicerit hemitheas.
Illa vel Acestes castos æquarit amores,
Vel prompto superet consilio Tanaquil.
Illo ore, hoc vultu, forma est spectabilis illa,
Quæ talem ac tantam sola decere potest.
Eloquio fœcunda cui Cornelia cedat,
Inque maritali Penelopeia fide.
Illa tibi Princeps multos devota per annos,
Sola tui longa mansit amore mora.

Non illam germana soror, nec patria flexit,
Non potuit mater, non revocare pater.
Unum te matri, te prætulit illa sorori :
Te patriæ, et charo prætulit illa patri.
Illa tibi felix populos hinc inde potentes
Non dissolvenda junxit amicitia.
Regibus orta quidem magnis, nihiloque minorum est
Regum, quàm quibus est orta, futura parens.
Hactenus una tui navem tenet ancora regni,
Una : sat illa quidem firma, sed una tamen.
At Regina tibi sexu fœcunda virili
Undique firmatam perpetuamque dabit.
Proveniunt illi magna ex te commoda, rursus
Ex illa veniunt commoda magna tibi.
Non alia ulla fuit certè te digna marito :
Illa non alius conjuge dignus erat.
Anglia thura feras, sacrumque potentius omni
Thure, bonas mentes innocuasque manus.
Connubium ut superi hoc, sicuti fecere, secundent,
Ut data cœlesti sceptra regantur ope.
Utque ipsis gestata diu hæc diademata, tandem
Et natus nati gestet, et inde nepos.

## EJUSDEM, IN SUBITUM IMBREM, QUI IN POMPA REGIS AC REGINÆ LARGE OBORTUS, NEC SOLEM ABSTULIT, NEC DURAVIT.

Dum peterent sacras Rex et Regina coronas,
Pompa qua nunquam pulchrior ulla fuit :
Aureus explicuit latè se Phœbus, eratque
Læta dies populi consona pectoribus.
Ast ubi jam mediam celebris pervenit in urbem,
Tota statim æthereis pompa rigatur aquis.
Nulla tamen Phœbi subduxit lumina nubes,
Et minima nimbus perstitit ille mora.
Res bene contra æstus cecidit, rem sive quis ipsam
Spectet, sive omnem, non potuit melius.

Principibus nostris uberrima tempora spondent,
Et Phœbus radiis, et Jovis uxor aquis.

## EJUSDEM, AD REGEM.

Cuncta Plato cecinit tempus quæ proferat ullum,
Sæpe fuisse olim, sæpe aliquando fore.
Ver fugit ut celeri, celerique revertitur anno,
Bruma pari ut spatio quæ fuit ante, redit :
Sic inquit rapidi, post longa volumina cœli
Cuncta per innumeras sunt reditura vices.
Aurea prima sata est ætas, argentea post hanc,
Ærea post illam, ferrea nuper erat.
Aurea te Princeps redierunt Principe secla.
O possit vates [illegible] esse Plato.

## EJUSDEM, AD REGEM, DE SPECTACULIS EQUESTRIBUS PER EUM EDITIS, EPODON IAMBICUM.

Quæcunque reges ediderunt hactenus
Equestrium spectacula,
Lugubris illa semper aliqua reddidit
Vel calamitas insignia :
Vel casus aliquis prospero parum Jove,
Admixtus inter ludicra :
Aut rabido transverberati militis
Madens harena sanguine :
Aut lanceis icta, ungulisve sonipedum
Obtrita plebs ferocium :
Turbamve comprimens simul miserrimam
Lapsæ ruina machinæ.
Verum tua hæc spectacula ô Rex omnium
Quæ vidimus pulcherrima
Non ulla clades, sed tua digna indole
Insignit innocentia.

## EJUSDEM, DE UTRAQUE ROSA IN UNUM COALITA.

Purpureæ vicina fuit rosa candida, utramque
Utraque dum certant, sit prior utra, premit.
Utraque sed florem rosa jam coalescit in unum,
Quoque potest uno lis cadit illa modo.
Nunc rosa consurgit, nunc pullulat una; sed omnes
Una habet hæc dotes, quas habuere duæ.
Scilicet huîc uni species, decor, atque venustas,
Et color, et virtus, est utriusque rosæ.
Alterutram ergo rosam vel solam quisquis amavit,
Hanc in qua nunc est, quicquid amavit amet.
At qui tam ferus est, ut non amet, ille timebit,
Nempe etiam spinas flos habet iste

## IN RHETOREM INDOCTUM. E GRÆCO.

Quinque solœcismis donavi rhetora Flaccum,
Quinque statim decies reddidit ille mihi.
Nunc numero hos, inquit, paucos contentus habeto,
Mensura accipies quando redibo Cypro.

## IN SUSPICIONEM. E GRÆCO.

Magnam habet in rebus vim ac pondus opinio. Non vis
Lædere, velle tamen si videare, peris.
Sic et Philoleon quondam occidêre Crotonæ,
Quem falso credunt velle tyrannum agere.

## IN RHETOREM INFANTEM SCITE PICTUM. E GRÆCO.

Ipse tacet Sextus, Sexti meditatur imago.
Ipsa est rhetor imago, ab imagine rhetor imago est.

## IN CÆCUM ET CLAUDUM, MENDICOS.

Claudipedem gestat cæcis vicinus ocellis,
Conducitque oculos arte, locatque pedes.

ALITER.

Cæcus claudipedem gestat, prudenter uterque
Rem gerit; atque oculos hic locat, ille pedes.

ALITER.

Cæcus fert claudum, atque opera conducit eadem;
Istius ille oculos, illius iste pedes.

ALITER.

Claudum cæcus onus grave, sed tamen utile vectat;
Prospicit atque oculis, huîc regit ille pedes.

IDEM, FUSIUS.

Tristis erat nimium miseris fortuna duobus,
Huic oculos, illi dempsit iniqua pedes.
Sors illos copiat simulis, claudum vehit alter:
Sic sua communi damna levant opera.
Hic pedibus quovis alienis ambulat, itur
Huîc recta alterius semita luminibus.

IDEM, ALITER.

Utilius nihil esse potest, quàm fidus amicus,
Qui tua damna suo leniat officio.
Fœdera contraxere simul mendicus uterque
Cum claudo solidæ cæcus amicitiæ.
Claudo cæcus ait, collo gestabere nostro:
Rettulit hic, oculis cæce regêre meis.
Alta superborum fugitat penetralia regum,
Inque casa concors paupere regnat amor.

ALITER.

Cum claudo cæcus sic lege paciscitur æqua, ut
Hic ferat illum humeris, hunc regat ille oculis.

## PINUS NAUTICA LOQUITUR, VENTO SUBVERSA. E GRÆCO.

Pinus ego ventis facile superabilis arbor,
Stulte quid undivagam me facis ergo ratem?
An non augurium metuis? quum persequitur me
In terra, Boream qui fugiam in pelago?

## IDEM, ALITER.

Ventis pinus humo sternor, quid mittor in undas?
Jam nunc passa prius quàm nato naufragium.

## IN NAVIM EXUSTAM.

Jam ratis æquoreas oneraria fugerat undas
Matris at in terræ deperiit similbus
Corripitur flammis, atque ardens auxiliares
Quas maris hostiles fugerat, optat aquas.

## CUNICULA LOQUITUR, QUÆ ELAPSA MUSTELÆ INCIDIT IN DISPOSITA VENATORUM RETIA.

Mustelam obliquo dilapsa foramine fugi,
Sed feror humanos heu misera in laqueos.
Hic ego non vitam celerem, non impetro mortem,
Servor ut heu rabidis objiciar canibus.
Qui mea dum laniant scelerato viscera morsu,
Spectat, et effuso sanguine ridet homo.
O durum genus, atque fera truculentius omni,
Nex cui crudelem præbet acerba jocum.

## INNOCENTIAM OBNOXIAM ESSE INJURIÆ. E GRÆCO

Ausus erit mordere malum vel mus, vetus hoc est
Verbum, sed longè res habet ipsa secus.
Innocuos audet vel mus mordere, nocentem
Tangere non audet territus ipse draco.

## IN EFFLATUM VENTRIS. E GRÆCO.

Te crepitus perdit, nimium si ventre retentes :
Te properè emissus servat item crepitus.
Si crepitus servare potest et perdere, nunquid
Terrificis crepitus regibus æqua potest ?

## DE MORTIS ÆQUALITATE. E GRÆCO.

Victor ad Herculeas penetres licet usque columnas,
Te terræ cum aliis pars manet æqua tamen.
Iro par moriere, obolo non ditior uno :
Et tua te (sed non jam tua) solvet humus.

## IN SECUNDUM. E GRÆCO.

Te ditem appellant omnes, ego planè inopem te.
Nam facit usus opes, testis Apollophanes.
Si tu utare tuis, tua sunt : sin tua serves
Hæredi, tua jam nunc aliena facis.

## VENATUS ARANEÆ.

Insidiata vagam comprendit aranea muscam,
Et lentis trepidam cassibus implicuit :
Jamque hiat in morsum. Sed sæpe os inter et offam,
Ut verbum vetus est, multa venire solent.
Sors muscæ miseretur, et adversatur Arachnæ,
Inque malam è misera transtulit exitium.
En stimulante fame properans invadis utramque
Sturne ; ruunt casses : hæc fugit, illa perit.
Sic misero spes est plerumque secure sub ipsa,
Inter et armatos mille malo metus est.

## IN CYNICUM STULTE ABSTINENTEM. E GRÆCO.

Barbati Cynici, baculoque vagantis egeni,
In cœna magnam conspicimus sophiam.

Scilicet hic raphanis Cynicus primùm atque lupino,
Ne virtus ventri serviat, abstinuit.
At niveum postquam bulbum conspexit ocellis,
Jam rigidum et sapiens excutit ingenium :
Flagitat, atque avidè spem præter devorat omnem,
Virtuti bulbus nil, ait, officiet.

## EPITAPHIUM MEDICI. E GRÆCO.

Thessalus Hippocrates, Cous genere, hac jacet urna,
Phœbi immortalis semine progenitus.
Crebra trophæa tulit morborum armis medicinæ,
Laus cui magna : nec id sorte, sed arte fuit.

## IN SERVUM MORTUUM. E GRÆCO.

Hic servus dum vixit, erat, nunc mortuus idem,
Non quàm tu, Dari magne, minora potest.

## IN ANCILLAM MORTUAM.

Antè fuit solo Sosime corpore serva,
Nunc fato pars est hæc quoque missa manu.

## IN PISCATOREM ADAMATUM. E GRÆCO.

Pisces dum captat piscator, divitis illum
Nata videt, visi flagrat amore viri :
Deinde viro nubit. Sic illi ex paupere vita,
Magna superbarum copia venit opum.
Muneris hoc nostri est, Venus inquit : verba retorquens
Fortuna, hæc nostri est muneris, inquit hera.

## IN REPENTE FELICEM E MISERO. E GRÆCO.

Non tibi quòd faveat, sic te fortuna levavit :
Vel de te liqueat, vult, sibi quid liceat.

## IN MEDIOCRITATEM. E GRÆCO.

Invidia est pejor miseratio, Pindarus inquit,
Felici invidiam splendida vita facit.
At nimium miseros miseramur: deut superi ut sim
Nec nimium felix, nec miserandus ego.
Scilicet extremis longè mediocria præstant:
Infima calcantur, summa repentè ruunt.

## NIHIL PRODESSE TORQUERI METU MALI VENTURI. E GRÆCO.

Cur patimur stulti? namque hæc vecordia nostra,
Urat ut indomitus pectora nostra metus.
Seu mala non venient, jam nos metus urit inanis:
Sin venient, aliud nil metus ipse malum.

## MONOSTICHUM IN LAUDEM POEMATIS HOMERICI. E GRÆCO.

Ipse quidem cecini, scripsit divinus Homerus.

## IN RIDICULUM JUDICIUM. E GRÆCO.

Lis agitur, surdusque reus, surdus fuit actor:
Ipse tamen judex surdus utroque magis.
Pro ædibus hic petit æs, quinto jam mense peracto.
Ille refert, tota nocte mihi acta mola est.
Aspicit hos judex: Et quid contenditis, inquit,
An non utrique est mater? utrique alite.

## AD LUCERNAM NOCTURNAM.

Lychne reversuram ter te juravit amica,
Nec redit, ô pœnas det tibi, si Deus es.
Ludenti cum nocte places, extinguere; et aufer
Tam sacra tam sacris lumina luminibus.

## LAIS ANUS AD SPECULUM. E GRÆCO.

Nequiter arrisi tibi, quæ modò gratia? amantum
Turbam in vestibulis Lais habens juvenum,
Hoc Veneri speculum dico. Nam me cernere talem
Qualis sum nolo, qualis eram nequeo.

## IN MORTIS DIEM OMNIBUS INCERTUM.

Non ego quos rapuit mors, defleo, defleo vivos,
Quos urunt longo fata futura metu.

## ALIUD.

Fleres, si scires unum tua tempora mensem;
Rides, quum non sit forsitan una dies.

## IN APUM INDUSTRIAM. E GRÆCO.

Mellis apes fluvios ipsæ sibi in æthere fingunt,
Ipsæ quos habitant ædificant thalamos.
Grata apis humanæ frugesque facillima vitæ est,
Non bovis, aut curvæ falcis egebit ope.
Tantum opus hic situla est, ubi dulcia pocula mellis
Ubertim parvo fundat ab alveolo.
Congaudete sacræ, varios et pascite flores,
Ætherei volucres nectaris artifices.

## IN ANUM FUCIS FRUSTRA UTENTEM.

Sæpe caput tingis, nunquam tinctura senectam,
Aut tensura genis quæ tibi ruga tuis.
Desine jam faciem stibio perfundere totam,
Ne persona tibi hæc sit modò, non facies.
Cum nihil assequeris fuco stibioque, quid amens
Vis tibi? nunquam Hecuben hæc facient Helenen.

## IN HOMINIS NATIVITATEM. E GRÆCO.

Heus homo si memor es, quid te dum gigneret egit
Tum pater, ex animo jam tumor ille cadet.
At Plato te fastu dum somniat, inflat inani,
Æternumque vocat semen et æthereum.
Factus es ecce luto, quid suspicis alta? sed istud
Plasmate, qui te ornat, nobiliore feret.
Quin si vera voles audire, libidine fœda
Natus es è coitu, guttula et è misera.

## DE ASTROLOGO RIDICULO.

Non Cumæa sacra vates correpta furore,
Certius afflata mente futura videt:
Quàm meus astrologus divûm clarus in arte
Prævidet inspecta sidere præterita.

## ALIUD, IN ASTROLOGUM UXORIS IMPUDICÆ MARITUM.

Astra tibi æthereo pandunt sese omnia vati,
Omnibus et quæ sint fata futura, monent.
Omnibus ast uxor quod se tua publicat, id te
Astra, licet videant omnia, nulla monent.

## IN EUNDEM, IAMBICUM.

O chare nobis siderum cœlestium
Inspector astris, ipse nunc Phœbus tibi
Optem libenter indicare clanculum
Quiddam, quod ad te pertinens quàm maximè,
Dum cuncta lustro, deprehendi pridie,
Quàm tu redires nuper ex aula domum.
Sed territat Venus, minatur et mihi
Secundum amorem, qui nihilo secundior
Mihi sit futurus, quàm fuit Daphnes prior:
Quicquam cuivis garrulus si deferam
De se marito, quale detuli prius.

Nescibis ergo hoc, cæteras rerum vices
Docebo te. Nuptiæ sed in rebus tuæ
Si quid tua non cedat ex sententia,
Hoc omnibus prius patebit, quàm tibi.

## ALIUD, IN EUNDEM

Quid inter alta sultè quæris sidera
In humo manentis conjugis mores tuæ?
Quid alta spectas? infrà id est cui tu times?
Dum jam tu, agat quid illa, quæris in polo,
Hæc quæ libebat, interim egit in solo.

## ALIUD, IN ASTROLOGUM EUNDEM.

Sidera vestigas inter cœlestia demens
Cur dubia semper mente quid uxor agat?
Si nescis qualis tibi sit, crede esse pudicam:
Quod tibi persuades, si bene, jam bene habes.
Quid cognoscere vis, quæ non nisi cognita lædunt?
Quid fieri studio vis miser ipse tuo?
Hic furor haud dubiè est, quum jam desistere possis:
Quærere sollicitè, quod reperire times.

## ALIUD, IN ASTROLOGUM.

Saturnus procul est, jamque olim cæcus, ut aiunt,
Nec propè discernens à puero lapidem.
Luna verecundis formosa incedit ocellis,
Nec nisi virgineum virgo videre potest.
Jupiter Europen, Martem Venus, et Venerem Mars,
Daphnen Sol, Hyrcen Mercurius recolit.
Hinc factum Astrologe est, tua quum capit uxor amantes,
Sidera significent ut nihil inde tibi.

## DE FORMA, DILEMMA.

Quid forma confert, Hercules nihil cerno.
Si ferveas, deformis ecce formosa est:
Sin frigeas, formosa jam sit informis.
Quid forma confert, Hercules nihil cerno.

## DE ASTROLOGO, DE QUO SUPRA.

Sæpe suam inspectis uxorem Candidus astris,
Prædicat en vates omnibus, esse bonam.
Inspectis iterum, postquam uxor adultera fugit,
Prædixit vates omnibus, esse malam.

## PARÆNESIS AD VIRTUTEM VERAM.

Heu miseris quicquid mortalibus blanditur in orbe,
Illicò marcescens, ut rosa verna cadit.
Nec quenquam usque adeò placidis complectitur ulnis
Sors, ut non aliqua parte molesta premat.
Imbibe virtutes, et inania gaudia sperne:
Sunt animi comites gaudia vera boni.

## AD CONTEMPTUM HUJUS VITÆ.

Nos velut instabiles ventus quatit omnis aristas:
Quolibet impellunt spes, dolor, ira, metus.
Nil habet in rebus pondus mortalibus ullum,
Momento pudor est, si moveare levi.

## MORTEM NON ESSE METUENDAM, CUM SIT FINIS MALORUM. E GRÆCO.

Non stultum est mortem matrem timuisse quietis?
Quam fugiunt morbi, mœstaque pauperies?
Sola semel miseris sese mortalibus offert,
Nec quisquam est ad quem mors iterum rediit.
At reliqui morbi varii, multique vicissim
Nunc hunc, nunc illum, terque quaterque premunt.

## IN EPISCOPUM QUENDAM SORDIDUM AC PERPARCUM.

Vita Sibyllinos mea si duraret in annos,
Non bonitas unquam præsulis excideret.
Jugera multa soli locat, amplas possidet urbes,
Centum stipatus progreditur famulis.
Me tamen exigui census, quum nuper adirem,
Excipit, et verè comiter alloquitur.
Quin abiens nigri gustarem ut pocula vini,
E loculo clavem liberat ipse suo.

## DE VICISSITUDINE FORTUNÆ. E GRÆCO.

Lubrica non servat certum fortuna tenorem,
Sed rotat instabilem cæca subinde rotam.
Sternere summa libet, libet infima tollere, rerum
Inque vicem nulla vertere lege vices.
Maxima quum bona sunt, jam sunt mala proxima: rursus
Maxima quum mala sunt, proxima jam bona sunt.
Forti animo mala fer, nec bis miser esto dolore:
Ne citò venturis præmoriare bonis.

## VITA BREVIS.

Non tibi vivacem furor est spondere senectam,
Quum non sit vitæ certa vel hora tuæ.
Finge age Nestoreum sis perventurus in ævum,
Longa tument multis tempora fœta malis.
Omnia ut effugias viridis quibus angitur ætas,
Tædia longa tibi curva senecta feret.
Tu tamen ad seros (nulli quod contigit) annos
Ut venias nullo percitus antè malo.
Hoc tamen exiguum est, ubi nunc tot Nestoris anni?
Ex tanto superest tempore nulla dies.

## PATIENTIA.

Tristia qui pateris, perfer : Sors tristia solvet.
Quòd si non faciat Sors, tibi mors faciet.

## VITA IPSA CURSUS AD MORTEM EST.

Nugamur, mortemque procul, procul esse putamus :
At mediis latet hæc abdita visceribus.
Scilicet ex illa, qua primùm nascimur hora,
Prorepunt juncto vitaque morsque pede.
Partem aliquam furtim qua se metitur, et ipsam
Surripit è vita quælibet hora tua.
Paulatim morimur, momento extinguimur uno,
Sic olea lampas deficiente perit.
Ut nihil intermat, tamen ævo in tempore mors est :
Quin nunc, interea dum loquimur, morimur.

## DIVES AVARUS PAUPER EST SIBI. E GRÆCO.

Divitias animi solas ego judico veras,
Qui rebus pluris se facit ipse suis.
Hunc adeò ditem, hunc opulentum ritè vocamus,
Magnarum quis sit qui videt usus opum.
Calculus at sit quem miserè numerandus adurit.
Qui miserè semper divitias cumulet :
Hic ut apes parvo crebroque foramine fosso,
Sudat in alveolo, mella alii comedunt.

## DILEMMA EPICURI.

Dejiciat miseram tibi nulla molestia mentem.
Si longa est, levis est : si gravis est, brevis est.

## CONTRA.

Dejicit heu miseram, prosternit et utraque mentem.
Longa, nec ulla levis : nec gravis, ulla brevis.

## DE MORTE.

Somniat, hic ditem qui se putat esse, videtque
Morte experrectus illico quàm sit inops.

## SOLA MORS TYRANNICIDA EST.

Duriter es quicunque viris oppressus iniquis,
Spem cape: spes luctus leniat alma tuos.
Versilis in melius vel te Fortuna reponet,
Ut solet excussa nube nitere dies.
Aut libertatis vindex frendente tyranno,
Eruet injecta mors miserata manu.
Auferet hæc (quo plus tibi gratificetur) et illum,
Afferet atque tuos protinus ante pedes.
Ille opibus tantis fastuque elatus inani,
Ille ferox crebris antè satellitibus.
Hic neque torvus erit, vultu nec ut antè superbo,
Sed miser, abjectus, solus, inermis, inops.
O quid vita tibi dedit unquam tale? vicissim
Jam ridendus erit, qui metuendus erat.

## CARMEN VERSUM E CANTIONE ANGLICA.

O cor triste malis miserè immersumque profundis,
Rumpere: sit pœnæ terminus iste tuæ.
Sanguinolenta tuæ dominæ tua vulnera pande,
Illa brevi est, quæ nos dividet una duos.
Quàm miser ergo diu sic heu lacrymabo, querarque?
Mors ades, et tantis horrida solve malis.

## IN AMICAM FŒDIFRAGAM JOCOSUM, VERSUM E CANTIONE ANGLICA.

Dii melius, venêre mihi hæc quæ somnia nocte?
Tota semel mundi machina versa ruit.
Nec sua lux Phœbo constabat, nec sua Phœbe,
Jamque tumens omnem straverat æquor humum.

Majus adhuc mirum, vox en mihi dicere visa est,
Heus tua jam pactam fregit amica fidem.

## DE CUNICULO BIS CAPTO.

E rete extrahor, è digitis in rete relabor,
Heu semel heu fugi, bis miser ut caperer.

## IN VIRGINEM MORIBUS HAUD VIRGINEIS.

Blanda, salax, petulans, audax, vaga, garrula virgo,
Si virgo est, virgo est, bis quoque quæ peperit.

## IN UXORES.

Hoc quisque dicit, rebus in mortalibus
Quod tristius sit, ac magis viros gravet,
Natura nil produxit his uxoribus.
Hoc quisque dicit, dicit: at ducit tamen.
Quin sex sepultis, septimam ducit tamen.

## IN EASDEM.

Res uxor gravis est, poterit tamen utilis esse,
Si properè moriens det sua cuncta tibi.

## IN IMAGINEM DISSIMILEM. E GRÆCO.

Hæc tua quam nuper pinxit Diodorus imago,
Cujusvis magis est, quàm tua Menodote.

## IN EANDEM.

Sic se totum isthac expressit imagine pictor,
Ut nulli tam sit, quàm tibi dissimilis:

## CHORIAMBICUM DE VITA SUAVI. E GRÆCO.

Non est cura mihi Gygis
Qui Rex Sardibus imperat.

Aurum non ego persequor,
Reges non miser æmulor.
Curæ est, barba suavibus
Unguentis mihi perfluat.
Curæ est, ut redolentibus
Cingam tempora floribus.
Curæ sunt hodierna mî,
Nam quis crastina noverit?
Tornato bene Mulciber
Argento mihi poculum
Jam nunc effice concavum,
Et quantum potes imbibum.
Et fac illud ut ambiant
Non currus, neque sidera,
Orion neque flebilis.
Vites fac virides mihi,
Botri fac mihi rideant
Pulchro cum Dionysio.

## IN MEDICUM IMPOSTOREM, QUI GUTTULAM FICTI BALSAMI MAGNO VENDIDIT.

Febre laboranti medicus, feret O tibi certe
Aut nihil, aut tantum balsamus, inquit, opem.
Sed nemo me præter habet, perpaululum et ipse,
Gutta emitur libris non minus una decem.
Nunc mihi quinque dabis, reliquas mihi quinque daturus
Sanus, ut has nunquam te moriente petam.
Nunquam rem facies, tanto in discrimine qui vis
Tam charæ guttæ ponere dimidium.
Pacta placent, minimoque è vitro et sindone tecto,
Jacta petit gladii cuspide gutta merum,
Abluat ut vino mucronem, æger rogat: absit,
Inquit, adhuc libras bis gerit ille decem.
Gutta, ait, una sat est, et erat satis: unica tantum
Gutta potest: unam vix bibit, et moritur.

O nimis adverso contractum sidere pactum,
Hinc gutæ, hinc vitæ dimidium periit.

## IN FUCATUM. E GRÆCO.

Tingis capillos fœmina, at quî scis, rogas?
Nigri fuere, quum referres è foro.

## IN IMAGINEM MALE REDDITAM.

Effigie studuit tua in hac ostendere pictor,
Expressisse queat quàm tibi dissimilem.

## IN IMAGINEM BENE REDDITAM.

Hac tua tam verè facies expressa tabella,
Ut jam non tabella hæc sit tibi, sed speculum.

## IN EANDEM.

Quam mihi monstrasti demiror Posthume pictor,
Effigiem quanta finxerat arte tuam.
Inspicit hanc quisquis, si te conspexerit unquam,
Si non artificis tangitur invidia.
Tam simile hic ovo non esse fatebitur ovum,
Effigies hæc est quàm tibi dissimilis.

## IN ANGLUM, GALLICÆ LINGUÆ AFFECTATOREM.

Amicus et sodalis est Lalus mihi,
Britanniaque natus, altusque insula.
At cum Britannos Galliæ cultoribus
Oceanus ingens, lingua, mores dirimant:
Spernit tamen Lalus Britannica omnia,
Miratur, expetitque cuncta Gallica.
Toga superbit ambulans in Gallica,
Amatque multum Gallicas lacernulas.
Zona, locello, atque ense gaudet Gallico,
Filtro, bireto, pileoque Gallico.

Et calceis, et subligare Gallico,
Totoque denique apparatu Gallico.
Nam et unum habet ministrum, eumque Gallicum.
Sed quem (licet velit) nec ipsa Gallia
Tractare quiret plus (opinor) Gallicè,
Stipendii nihil dat, atque id Gallicè.
Vestitque tritis pannulis, et Gallicè hoc.
Alit cibo parvo, et malo, idque Gallicè.
Labore multo exercet, atque hoc Gallicè.
Pugnisque crebro pulsat, idque Gallicè.
In cœtu, et in via, et foro, et frequentia
Rixatur, objurgatque semper Gallicè.
Quid? Gallicè illud? imò semigallicè.
Sermonem enim (ni fallor) ille Gallicum
Tam callet omnem, quàm Latinum Psittacus.
Crescit tamen, sibique nimirum placet,
Verbis tribus si quid loquatur Gallicis.
Aut Gallicis si quid nequit vocabulis,
Conatur id, verbis licet non Gallicis,
Canore saltem personare Gallico,
Palato hiante acutulo quodam sono,
Et fœminæ instar garrientis molliter,
Sed ore pleno, tanquam id impleant fabæ,
Balbutiens videlicet suaviter
Pressis quibusdam literis, Galli quibus
Ineptientes abstinent, nihil secus,
Quàm vulpe Gallus, rupibusque navita.
Sic ergo linguam ille et Latinam Gallice,
Et Gallice linguam sonat Britannicam.
Et Gallice linguam refert Lombardicam.
Et Gallice linguam refert Hispanicam.
Et Gallice linguam sonat Germanicam.
Et Gallice omnem, præter unam Gallicam.
Nam Gallicam solam sonat Britannice.
At quisquis insula satus Britannica,

Sic patriam insolens fastidiet suam,
Ut more simiæ laboret fingere,
Et æmulari Gallicas ineptias:
Ex amne Gallo ego hunc opinor ebrium.
Ergo ex Britanno ut Gallus esse nititur,
Sic dii jubete, fiat ex gallo capus.

## IN NICOLAUM, MALUM MEDICUM.

Nunc video haud rerum tantum, sed et ipsa virorum
Nomina non temerè, sed ratione dari.
Nicoleus nomen medici est: qui convenit? inquis,
Hoc potius nomen debuit esse ducis.
Dux populos armis vincit: sed et iste venenis
Et populum, et fortes sternit ubique duces.
Sæpe ducem bello repetunt, bis nemo rebellat
Huic medico: vere est nomine Nicoleus.

## IN IMAGINEM ELEGANTEM, SED DEFORMISSIMI.

Ipsam judice me Venerem superabat Apellis,
Hæc tua quæ visa est nuper imago mihi.
Pictor in hanc omnes unam consumpserat artes,
Spectari hac una quid valuit, voluit.
Qualis in ore decor, qui nasus, qualia labra,
O quales oculi, qualis ubique color.
Tam fuit ex omni longe pulcherrima parte,
Quam fuit à nulla parte tibi similis.

## IN IMAGINEM DISSIMILEM.

Nuper ut ingredior pictoris forte tabernam,
Effigies oculis est tua visa meis.
Ex te dum pictor sic exprimat omnia, vultum
Immotum credo te tenuisse diu.
Sic te totum inspecta refert: intelligo cuja est,
Protinus ut pictor rettulit esse tuam.

## IN PARCUM MORIENTEM.

Chrysalus heu moritur dives, dolet, ingemit: unquam
Nemo magis tristi pectore fata tulit.
Non quoniam ipse perit, cui nil se vilius ipso est,
Sed nummi pereunt quatuor in tumulum.

## IN GRAMMATICUM PUTIDUM.

Quum mihi grammaticus mentem subit Heliodorus,
Nostra solœcismos illico lingua timet.

## IN PROGNOSTEN RIDICULUM.

Hoc anno in regno rex nobilis ille quiescet
Gallorum, celeber scripserat astrologus.
Rex vix incœpto vita defungitur anno,
Jam nil se vates quo tueatur, habet.
Rem quidam risu cœpit defendere, verum est
Augurium, rex jam nonne quievit? ait.
Latius hoc verbum prorepit, et undique ridens
Id populus, rex jam nonne quievit? ait.
Audit ut in populo hoc vates, jam seriò verum est
Augurium, rex jam nonne quievit? ait.

## IN VEHEMENTER NASUTUM. E GRÆCO.

Nunquam Procle manu nares emungere possis:
Nam tua nare manus, magna licet, minor est.
Quando Jovem inclamas sternutans, quippe nec audis:
Tam procul ab nasus prominet aure tuus.

## IN POETAM FURIOSUM. E GRÆCO.

Sunt etiam in Musis furiæ, quibus ipse poëta
Fis, per quas temere carmina multa facis.
Ergo age plurima scribe precor: tibi nempe furorem
Non ego majorem quem precer invenio.

## IN PERPUSILLUM. E GRÆCO.

Grus ne te rapiat pygmæo sanguine gaudens,
Si sapias, media tutus in urbe mane.

## NEGLIGENDI VULGI RUMORES. E GRÆCO.

Tu teipsum oblectes, et vulgi verba loquacis
Sperne: bene hic de te dicet, et ille malè.

## IN FATUUM. E GRÆCO.

Quem mordent pulices, extinguit morio lychnum,
Non me, inquit, cernent amplius hi pulices.

## DE SOMNO. E GRÆCO. SENTENTIA ARISTOTELIS.

Fermè dimidium vitæ dormitur, in illo
Æquales spacio dives inopsque jacent.
Ergo Crœse tibi regum ditissime, vitæ
Fermè dimidio par erat Irus egens.

## ALIUD.

Non es, dum in somno es, dum nec te vivere sentis,
Felix, at somnus ni veniat, miser es.
Qui felix igitur sorte indulgente superbit,
Inflatusque levi prosperitate tumet:
Nox quoties venit, aut toties jam desinit esse
Felix, aut toties incipit esse miser.

## QUID INTER TYRANNUM ET PRINCIPEM

Legitimus immanissimis
Rex hoc tyrannis interest:
Servos tyrannus quos régit,
Rex liberos putat suos.

## SOLLICITAM ESSE TYRANNI VITAM.

Magna diem magnis exhaurit cura tyrannis,
Nocte venit requies, si tamen ulla venit.
Nec tamen hi pluma requiescunt mollius ulla,
In dura pauper quam requiescit humo.
Ergo tyranne tibi hæc pars felicissima vitæ est,
In qua mendico par tamen esse velis.

## BONUM PRINCIPEM ESSE PATREM NON DOMINUM.

Princeps pius nunquam carebit liberis,
Totius est regni pater.
Princeps abundat ergo felicissimus,
Tot liberis, quot civibus.

## DE BONO REGE ET POPULO.

Totum est unus homo regnum, idque cohæret amore:
Rex caput est, populus cætera membra facit.
Rex quot habet cives (dolet ergo perdere quenquam)
Tot numerat partes corporis ipse sui.
Exponit populus sese pro rege, putatque
Quilibet hunc proprii corporis esse caput.

## BONA NON COGNOSCI, NISI DUM AMITTUNTUR.

Perdendo bona nostra fere cognoscimus omnes,
Dum possidemus, spernimus.
Sic populo quoque sæpe malus, sed sèrò benignum
Commendat hæres principem.

## TYRANNUM IN SOMNO NIHIL DIFFERRE A PLEBEIO.

Erigit ergo tuas insane superbia cristas,
Quòd flexo curvat se tibi turba genu,
Quòd populus nudo surgat tibi vertice, quòd sit
Multorum in manibus vitaque morsque tuis.

At somnus quoties artus adstringit inertes,
Hæc tua jam toties gloria dic ubi sit?
Tunc ignave jaces trunco non impar inani,
Aut paulo funetis ante cadaveribus.
Quod nisi conclusus timide intra tecta lateres,
In cujusque foret jam tua vita manu.

## DE PRINCIPE BONO ET MALO.

Quid bonus est princeps? canis est custos gregis, inde
Qui fugat ore lupos; quid malus? ipse lupus.

## IN RAPTOREM ET PATRONUM.

Raptam se queritur virgo, crimenque negari
Non potuit; raptor jam periturus erat.
Callidus at subito patronus protrahit ipse
Membrum deducta veste virile rei.
Hoccine virgo tua membrum fuit, inquit, in alvo?
Illa verecundo mota pudore negat.
Vicimus ô judex, clamat patronus, ea ipsa est:
Id negat en sine quo se negat ipsa rapi.

## IN FUREM ET PATRONUM.

Dum furti metuit damnari Clepticus, amplo
Non sine consuluit munere causidicum.
Hic ubi sæpe diuque immensa volumina volvit,
Spero, ait, effugies Cleptice, si fugias.

## IN ASTROLOGUM QUI FACTUM PRÆDIXIT. E GRÆCO.

Sæpe patri frater quòd debuit esse superstes,
Hoc velut uno omnes astrologi ore canunt.
Ast Hermoclides obiturum præ patre solus
Dixit: sed dixit postquam obiisse videt.

## IN HUJUS VITÆ VANITATEM.

Damnati ac morituri in terræ claudimur omnes
Carcere, in hoc mortem carcere nemo fugit.
Carceris in multas describitur area partes,
Inque aliis alii partibus ædificant.
Non aliter quam de regno de carcere certant,
In cæco cupidus carcere condit opes.
Carcere obambulat hic vagus, hic vincitur in antro;
Hic servit, regit hic; hic canit, ille gemit.
Jam quoque dum carcer non tanquam carcer amatur:
Hinc aliis alii mortibus extrahimur.

## REGEM NON SATELLITIUM, SED VIRTUS REDDIT TUTUM.

Non timor invisus, non alta palatia regem,
Non compilata plebe tuentur opes.
Non rigidus vili mercabilis ære satelles
Qui sic alterius fiet, ut hujus erat.
Tutus erit populum qui sic regit, utiliorem
Ut populus nullum censeat esse sibi.

## POPULUS CONSENTIENS REGNUM DAT ET AUFERT.

Quicunque multis vir viris unus præest,
Hoc debet his quibus præest:
Præesse debet neutiquam diutius,
Hi quàm volent quibus præest.
Quid impotentes principes superbiunt?
Quòd imperant precario?

## IN PERPUSILLUM. E GRÆCO.

Ex atomis Epicurus totum fabricat orbem,
Alchime, dum nihil his credidit esse minus.
Ex te fecisset, si tum Diophante fuisses,
Nempe atomis multo es tu Diophante minor.

Aut forte ex atomis jam cætera scriberet esse,
Ast ipsas ex te scriberet esse atomos.

## IN AMOREM CASTUM ET INCESTUM. E GRÆCO.

Hi duo destruxere duos, incestus et almus :
Dum contrà occurrunt, hinc amor, inde pudor.
Phrædram amor Hippolyti consumserat igneus, ipsum
Interimitque sacer proh pudor Hippolytum.

## IN URBEM ROMAM. E GRÆCO.

Gradivigenus Hector ave, si quid sub humo audis,
Respira, et patriæ nomine cresce tuæ.
Ilios urbs colitur, nunc inclyta gens colit illam,
Quam ipsa Marte minor, Martis amica tamen.
Myrmidones periere, ades et die Hector Achilli,
Esse sub Æneadis undique Thessaliam.

## DE MEDIOCRITATE. E GRÆCO.

Ingratum est quicquid nimium est; sic semper amarum est,
Ut verbum vetus est, mel quoque si nimium est.

## IN VEHEMENTER INFELICEM. E GRÆCO.

Nunquam vixisti ô pauper, nunquam morieris.
Nempe miser visus vivere mortuus es.
At quibus immensa est fortuna, pecunia multa,
His vitæ finem mors aliquando facit.

## IN PYTHAGORÆ ECHEMYTHIAM. E GRÆCO.

Rebus in humanis magna est doctrina tacere,
Testis erit sapiens hic mihi Pythagoras.
Nempe loqui doctus, reliquos docet ille tacere,
Magnum hoc ad requiem pharmacon inveniens.

## RIDICULUM, IN GELLIAM.

Quid modo sæclorum miremur monstra priorum,
Quod loquitur taurus, quod cadit imbre lapis?
Monstra antiqua novum superat, surrexerat ecce
Ante tenebrosum Gellia vesper heri.
Plus dicturus eram, nisi me ridere putares:
Surrexit mediam sed tamen ante diem.
Mira licet sæpe, illa tamen videre priores,
Sæpe potest forsan cernere posteritas.
Istud at hesternam nemo unquam viderat ante;
Et post hanc poterit nemo videre diem.

## IN PALLADEM VENEREMQUE. E GRÆCO.

Cur ita me lædis Venerem Tritonia virgo,
Corripis in digitos cur mea dona tuos?
Scilicet Idæis memor esto in rupibus olim,
Me, non te, pulchram censuit esse Paris.
Hasta tua est, ensisque tuus: mihi vendico malum,
Mars modo sit malo pristinus ille satis.

## VITAM HOMINIS ESSE NIHIL.

Nos tenuem strictis spirantes aëra fibris
Vivimus, et Phœbi lampada conspicimus.
Quotquot vivimus hic, sumus omnes organa, sed quæ
Vivificis animat flatibus aura levis,
Quod tua si tenuem restringat palma vaporem,
Eripiens animam miseris usque stygem.
Sic sumus ergo nihil, Plutoni pascimur omnes,
E flatu minimo nos levis aura fovet.

## IN PUGIONEM HEBETEM HEPETIS. E GRÆCO.

Plumbeus hic mucro tuus est obtusus, hebesque,
Mucro aciem ingenii fert tuus iste tui.

## DE GLORIA, ET POPULI JUDICIO.

Maxima pars hominum fama sibi plaudit inani,
Atque levis vento fertur in astra levi.
Quid populi tibi voce places? sæpe optima cæcus
Dat vitio, et temerè deteriora probat.
Sollicitus pendes alieno semper ab ore,
Ne laudem cerdo quam dedit, eripiat.
Fors tamen irridet, quo tu laudante superbis:
Ex animo laudet, laus tamen illa fugit.
Quid tibi fama facit? toto lauderis ab orbe,
Articulus doleat, quid tibi fama facit?

## RIDICULUM, IN MINISTRUM.

Muscas e cratere tulit conviva priusquàm
Ipse bibit, reddit rursus, ut ipse bibit.
Addidit et causam: muscas ego non amo, dixit,
Sed tamen è vobis nescio num quis amet.

## DE CANE VENANTE.

Os canis implet anas, alium capturus hiabat,
Non capit: at quam jam ceperat ore, fugit.
Sic miser interea dum rem captas alienam,
Sæpius et meritò perdis avare tuam.

## CANIS IN PRÆSEPI, AVARUS HOMO.

In præsepe canis fœno nec vescitur ipse,
Nec sinit ut fœnum qui cupit edat equus.
Servat avarus opes, opibus non utitur ipse,
Atque alios uti qui cupiunt, prohibet.

## IN ORESTEM PARANTEM OCCIDERE MATREM. E GRÆCO.

Qua gladium intrudes, per ventremne, anne papillas?
Te peperit venter, te lactavere papillæ.

## QUOD PAUCIS ORANDUS DEUS.

Da bona sive rogere Deus, seu nulla rogere:
Et mala sive rogere nega, seu nulla rogere.

## IN DIGAMOS. E GRÆCO.

Qui capit uxorem defuncta uxore secundam,
Naufragus in tumido bis natat ille freto.

## DE SOMNO ÆQUANTE PAUPEREM CUM DIVITE.

Somne quies vitæ, spes et solamen egenis,
Divitibus noctu quos facis esse pares.
Tristia demulces Lethæo pectora rore,
Excutis et sensum totius inde mali.
Læta benignus opes inopi per somnia mittis.
Quid falsas rides dives opes inopis?
Divitibus verè curas, tormenta, dolores,
Pauperibus false gaudia vera ferunt.

## IN DEFORMEM ET IMPROBUM. E GRÆCO.

Pingere difficile est animum, depingere corpus,
Hoc facile est: in te sunt tamen ambo secus.
Nam pravos animi mores natura revelans,
Fecit ut emineant undique perspicui.
Sed formæ portenta tuæ deformia membra
Quis pingat? quando hæc cernere nemo velit?

## IN CAPPADOCEM VIRULENTUM. E GRÆCO.

Vipera Cappadocem mordens mala, protinus hausto
Tabifico periit sanguine Cappadocis.

## IN STATUAM FERREAM. E GRÆCO.

Effigiem statuêre tibi rex perditor orbis
Ex ferro, ut longè vilius ære foret.

Hoc fecere fames, cædes, furor, æris egestas,
Hæc tua, quis omnes perdit? avaritia.

## AD CANDIDUM, QUALIS UXOR DELIGENDA.

Jam tempus id petit
Monetque Candide,
Vagis amoribus
Tandem renuncies,
Tandemque desinas
Incerta Cypridis
Sequi cubilia:
Quærasque virginem,
Quam rite jam tibi
Concorde vincias
Amore conjugem,
Quæ jam genus (unum)
Quo nil beatius,
Fœcunda dulcibus
Natis adaugeat.
Pater tibi tuus
Hoc antè præstitit.
Quod à prioribus
Prius receperis,
Non absque fœnore
Repende posteris.
Non sit tibi tamen
Hæc cura maxima,
Spectare Candide
Quid dotis afferat,
Quàm sitve candida.
Infirmus est amor,
Quem stultus impetus
Decore concitus
Parit, vel improbus
Ardor pecuniæ.
Quicunque amaverit
Propter pecuniam,

Amatur huîc nihil
Præter pecuniam :
Capta pecunia
Vanescit illico,
Item fugax amor,
Fereque jam prius
Perit quàm nascitur.
At nec pecunia,
Quam avarus antea
Miser cupiverat,
Juvare postea
Quicquam potest, ubi
Quam non amaverit
Invitus : attamen
Omnino cogitur
Tenere conjugem.
Quid forma ? numquid hæc
Vel febre decidit ?
Annisve deperit ?
Ut sole flosculus,
Tum defluentibus
Genæ coloribus
Amor, ligaverant
Quem hæc sola vincula,
Solutus aufugit.
At verus est amor,
Quem mente perspicax,
Ratione consule
Prudens iniverit :
Et quem bono omine
Virtutis inclytæ,
(Quæ certa permanens
Non febre decidit,
Annisve deperit)
Respectus efficit.
Primum ergo quam voles
Amice ducere,

Quibus parentibus
Sit orta perspice :
Ut mater optimis
Sit culta moribus,
Cujus tenellula
Mores puellula
Insugat, exprimat.
Tum qua sit indole,
Quàm dulcis, hoc vide;
Ut ore virginis
Insit serenitas,
Ab ore virginis
Absitque torvitas.
At rursus et tamen
Sit in genis pudor,
Nec ore virginis
Insit procacitas :
Et sit quieta, nec
Cingat salacibus
Viros lacertulis.
Vultu modesta sit,
Nec spectet undique
Vagis ocellulis.
Proculque stulta sit
Parvis labellulis
Semper loquacitas :
Proculque rusticum
Semper silentium.
Sit illa vel modo
Instructa literis,
Vel talis ut modo
Sit apta literis.
Felix, quibus bene
Priscis ab optimis
Possit libellulis
Vitam beantia
Haurire dogmata.

Armata, cum quibus
Nec illa prosperis
Superba turgeat,
Nec illa turbidis :
Misella lugeat
Prostrata casibus.
Jucunda sic erit
Semper, nec unquam erit
Gravis, molestave
Vitæ comes tuæ.
Quæ docta parvulos
Docebit et tuos
Cum lacte literas
Olim nepotulos.
Jam te juvaverit
Viros relinquere,
Doctæque conjugis
Sinu quiescere,
Dum grata te fovet,
Manuque mobili :
Dum plectra personant,
Et voce (qua nec est
Progne sororculæ
Tuæ suavior)
Amœna cantilat,
Apollo quæ velit
Audire carmina.
Jam te juvaverit
Sermone blandulo,
Docto tamen, dies
Noctesque ducere.
Notare verbula
Mellita maximis
Non absque gratiis
Ab ore melleo
Semper fluentia :
Quibus coërceat,

Si quando te levet
Inane gaudium :
Quibus levaverit,
Si quando deprimat
Te mœror anxius :
Certabit in quibus
Summa eloquentia
Jam cum omnium gravi
Rerum scientia.
Talem olim ego putem,
Et vatis Orphei
Fuisse conjugem,
Nec unquam ab inferis
Curasset improbo
Labore fœminam
Referre rusticam.
Talemque credimus
Nasonis inclytam,
Quæ vel patrem queat
Æquare carmine,
Fuisse filiam.
Talemque suspicor
(Qua nulla carior
Unquam fuit patri,
Quo nemo doctior)
Fuisse Tulliam.
Talisque, quæ tulit
Gracchos duos fuit,
Quæ quos tulit, bonis
Instruxit artibus :
Nec profuit minus
Magistra quàm parens.
Quid prisca sæcula
Tandem revolvimus ?
Utcunque rusticum,
Unam tamen tenet
Nostrumque virginem,

Tenet, sed unicam,
At sicut unicam,
Plerisque præferat:
Cuique conferat
Ex his fuisse, quæ
Narrantur omnibus
Tot retrò sæculis,
Quæ nunc et ultimam
Monet Britanniam
Perlata pennulis
Fama volucribus.
Laus atque gloria
Orbis puellula
Totius unica,
Ac non modo suæ
Cassandra patriæ.
Dic ergo Candide,
Si talis et tibi
Puella nuberet,
Quales ego tibi
Suprà recensui:
Desit licet queas
Formam requirere,
Dotisve quod parum
Lucrere conqueri.
Hic sermo verus est,
Quæcunque sit, satis
Est bella quæ placet,
Nec quisquam habet magis,
Quàm qui sibi satis
Quodcunque habet, putat.
Si nunc me amet mea,
Ut nil ego tibi
Amice mentiar.
Cuîcunque gratiam
Formæ negaverit
Natura virgini:

Certè licet si et
Carbone nigrior,
Foret tamen mihi hac
Virtutis indole
Olore pulchrior.
Cuîcunque lubrica
Dotem negaverit
Fortuna virgini:
Certè si et licet
Vel Iro egentior,
Foret tamen mihi hac
Virtutis indole
Te Crœse ditior.

## RIDICULUM, IN MINACEM.

Thrasonis uxorem bubulcus rusticus
Absente eo vitiaverat.
Domum reversus miles ut rem comperit,
Armatus et ferus insilit.
Tandem assecutus solum in agris rusticum,
Heus clamat heus heus furcifer.
Restat bubulcus, saxaque in sinum legit,
Ille ense stricto clamitat,
Tu conjugem meam attigisti carnifex?
Respondit imperterritus,
Feci. Fateris? inquit. At ego omnes Deos
Deasque testor ô sœlus,
In pectus hunc ensem tibi capulo tenus,
Ni fassus esses, abderem.

## DE MEDIOCRITATE. E GRÆCO.

Agros ego haud porrectiores appeto,
Non auream aut Gygis beatitudinem,
Quæ sit satis sibi, vita sat eadem est mihi.
Illud nihil nimis, nimis mihi placet.

## HECTOR MORIENS. E GRÆCO.

Projicitote meum Danai post fata cadaver.
Nam metuunt lepores occisi membra leonis.

## IN STULTUM POETAM.

Scripserat Æneam nulli pietate secundum,
Vates secundus nemini.
Quidam igitur regem dum vult laudare, Maronem
Pulchrè æmulatus scilicet,
Hic, hic est, inquit, princeps cui nemo secundus.
Hac laude rex indignus est,
Ipse sed est vates dignissimus: ergo age demus
Utrique laudem debitam.
Hic, hic est igitur vates, cui nemo secundus,
Rex qui secundus nemini.

## IN QUENDAM QUI SCRIPSERAT HYMNOS DE DIVIS, PARUM DOCTE, TESTATUS IN PRÆFATIONE, SE EX TEMPORE SCRIPSISSE, NEC SERVASSE LEGES CARMINUM, ET ARGUMENTUM NON RECIPERE ELOQUENTIAM.

Hic sacer Andreæ cunctos ex ordine fastos
Perstringit mira cum brevitate liber.
Ipsos quos cecinit superos, dum scriberet omnes,
Credibile est vati consuluisse suo.
Non subitò scripsit, sed sic, ut scribere posset
Quantumvis longo tempore non melius.
Et pia materia est priscisque intactus ab ipsis,
Servatus fato est huic operi iste stylus:
Seque quòd ad numeros non anxius obligat omnes,
Hoc quoque non vitio, sed ratione facit.
Majestas operis metro esse obnoxia non vult,
Nempe ibi libertas est, ubi spiritus est.

Ipsa operis pietas indocto sufficit : at tu
Castalio quisquis fonte bibisse soles,
Singula si trutines, erit hinc tibi tanta voluptas,
Quanta tibi ex alio non fuit antè libro.

## IN STRATOPHONTA PUGILEM IGNAVUM. E GRÆCO.

Dux Ithacus patria bis denos abfuit annos,
Quum rediit, celeri cognitus usque cani est.
Te pugil O Stratophon, certantem quatuor horas,
Et canis et populus dedidicere simul.
Quin etiam speculum de te si consulis ipse,
Juratus Stratophon te Stratophonta neges.

## IN PUGILEM IGNAVUM. E GRÆCO.

Nesimus ecce pugil vatem consultat Olympum,
An ventura sibi sera senecta foret.
Fors rude donatus vives, ait ille : minatur
Certanti gelidus sed tibi falce Deus.

## IN PARASITUM. E GRÆCO.

Stare putes stadio Eutichydes quum curreret, at quum
Curreret ad cœnam, nempe volare putes.

## IN BIBONEM. E GRÆCO.

Serta, unguenta, meo ne gratificare sepulchro,
Vina, focus, lapidi sumptus inanis erit.
Hæc mihi da vivo ; cineres miscere falerno,
Nempe lutum facere est, non dare vina mihi.

## IN BIBONEM. E GRÆCO.

E terra genitus, sub terram morte recondar :
Ergo lagena mihi terrea plena veni.

## IN MULIEREM FŒDAM. E GRÆCO.

Te speculum fallit; speculum nam Gellia verum
Si semel inspiceres, nunquam iterum inspiceres.

## IN FŒDAM. E GRÆCO.

Fugerit ad Parthos, vel ad Herculis usque columnas,
Visa semel, positis vestibus, Antipatra.

## IN FŒDAM. E GRÆCO.

Qui miser uxorem deformem duxit, habebit
Vespere, jam accenso lumine, adhuc tenebras.

## IN BARBA TANTUM PHILOSOPHUM. E GRÆCO.

Si promissa facit sapientem barba, quid obstat,
Barbatus possit quin caper esse Plato?

## DE LICENTIA.

Ultra concessos indulta licentia fines
Provehitur celeri, non revocanda, gradu.
Si patiare, pedem calcet tibi vespere conjux,
Calcabit surgens hæc tibi mane caput.

## EPITAPHIUM ABYNGDONII CANTORIS.

Attrahat huc oculos, aures attraxerat olim
Nobilis Henricus cantor Abyngdonius.
Unus erat, nuper mira qui voce sonaret,
Organa qui scitè tangeret, unus erat.
Vellensis primo templi decus, inde sacellum
Rex illo voluit nobilitare suum.
Nunc illum regi rapuit Deus, intulit astris,
Ipsis ut nova sit gloria cœlitibus.

## ALTERUM DE EODEM.

Hic jacet Henricus, semper pietatis amicus,
Nomen Abyngdon erat, si quis sua nomina quærat.
Uvellis hic ecclesia fuerat succentor in alma,
Regis et in bella cantor fuit ipse capella.
Millibus in mille cantor fuit optimus ille,
Præter et hæc ista, fuit optimus orgaquenista.
Nunc igitur Christe quoniam tibi serviit iste
Semper in orbe soli, da sibi regna poli.

## IN JANUM HÆREDEM ABYNGDONII.

Scripsi elegum carmen, Jano me hærede rogante,
Quod tumulum Henrici signet Abyngdonii.
Displicet, et doctis bene displicuisset. At illi
Displicet hoc tantum, si quid inest melius.
Non resonant isti versus, ait. Illicò sensi,
Quales lactucas talia labra petant.
Ridendos ergo ridens effutio versus.
Hos vorat applaudens Janus utraque manu.
Hos tumulo insculpsit, sub eundem protinus obdi,
Atque iisdem dignus versibus, ipse legi.
Antè retroque bifrons Janus Deus omnia vidit,
Talpa, effrons videt hic Janus utrinque nihil.

## AD AULICUM.

Sæpe mihi jactas faciles te ad principis aures
Libere et arbitrio ludere sæpe tuo.
Sic inter domitos sine noxa sæpe leones
Luditur, ac noxæ non sine sæpe metu.
Infremit incerta crebra indignatio causa,
Et subito mors est, qui modo ludus erat.
Tuta tibi non est, ut sic secura voluptas:
Magna tibi est, mihi sit, dummodo certa minor.

## IN TYNDALUM DEBITOREM.

Ante meos quàm crediderам tibi Tyndale nummos,
Quum libuit, licuit te mihi sæpe frui.
At nunc si tibi me fors angulus offerat ullus,
Haud secus ac viso, qui pavet, angue, fugis.
Non fuit unquam animus, mihi crede, reposcere nummos:
Non fuit: at ne te perdere cogar, erit.
Perdere te salvo nummos volo, perdere utrumque
Nolo, sat alterutrum sit periisse mihi.
Ergo tibi nummis, aut te mihi redde, retentis:
Aut tu cum nummis te mihi redde meis.
Quod tibi si neutrum placeat, nummi mihi saltem
Fac redeant: at tu non rediture, vale.

## IN MENDICUM GERENTEM SE PRO MEDICO.

Tu te fers medicum, nos te plus esse fatemur,
Una tibi plus est litera, quàm medico.

## IN UXOREM IMPUDICAM.

Est fœcunda mei, fœcunda est uxor Arati,
Nempe suo genuit ter sine fœta viro.

## IN PERPUSILLUM. E GRÆCO.

Ut fugeret miseræ Diophantus tædia vitæ,
Usus Arachneo est stamine pro laqueo.

## DE PUELLA, QUÆ RAPTUM FINXIT.

Conspiceret solam juvenis cum fortè puellam,
Et sibi oportunum crederet esse locum.
Improbus invitam cupidis amplectitur ulnis,
Basiaque et plus quàm basia ferre parat.
Illa reluctata est, legemque irata minatur,
Qua miser, effuso sanguine, raptor obit.

Institit ille tamen juvenili ardore protervus,
Nunc precibus satagit, nunc superare metu.
Non precibus, non illa metu superata reclamat,
Calce petit, mordet dente, manuque ferit.
Ira subit juvenem jam penè libidine major,
Et ferus, O demens siccine pergis? ait.
Per tibi ego hunc ensem juro, simul extulit ensem,
Commoda ni jaceas, ac taceas, abeo.
Illico succubuit tam tristi territa verbo:
Atque age, sed quod agis, vi tamen, inquit, agis.

## IN CHRYSALUM.

Chrysalus in sylvis loculos quum conderet, hæsit,
Certa loci possent quæ sibi signa capi.
At super ut summa raucum videt arbore corvum,
Hic mihi conspicua est, inquit, abitque, nota.
Capti sola scopi redeuntem copia lusit:
Nam sua jam in quavis arbore signa videt.

## IN ASTROLOGUM.

Dum tua quos noster celebrat pro vatibus error,
Fata cient positu sideris astrologi:
Hæc dum stella favet, dumque hæc tibi stella minatur,
Pendula mens inter spemque metumque tua est.
Prospera seu venient, venient reticentibus illis,
Assolet et subitum lætius esse bonum.
Seu venient adversa, diu nescire juvabit,
Usura et medii temporis usque frui.
Quin jubeo fatis etiam prohibentibus ipsis,
Fac tibi mens hilares transigat æqua dies.

## IN CRUCE DIGNUM. E GRÆCO.

Mastauron elementa tibi duo subtrahe prima,
Nemo te reliquis dignior esse potest.

## E GRÆCO.

Fortis erat bello Timocritus, hic jacet ergo,
Fortibus haud parcis Mars fere, sed timidis.

## E GRÆCO.

Ista Neoclidæ gnatos habet urna gemellos:
Servitio hic patriam liberat, hic vitio.

## AD QUENDAM CUI UXOR MALA DOMI.

Uxor amice tibi est semper mala: quum malè tracta
Fit pejor: sed fit pessima, quando bene.
Sed bona si moriatur erit, melior tamen id si
Te faciat vivo: ast optima, si propere.

## DE NAUTIS EJICIENTIBUS MONACHUM IN TEMPESTATE, CUI FUERANT CONFESSI.

Cum tumida horrisonis insurgeret unda procellis,
Et maris in lassam ferveret ira ratem,
Relligio timidis illabitur anxia nautis,
Heu parat, exclamant, hoc mala vita malum.
Vectores inter monachus fuit, hujus in aurem
Se properant vitiis exonerare suis.
Ast ubi senserunt nihilo sibi mitius æquor,
Sed rapido puppim vix superesse freto,
Quid miri est, ait unus, aqua si vix ratis extat,
Nostrorum scelerum pondere adhuc premitur.
Quin monachum hunc, in quem culpas exhausimus omnes,
Ejicite, et secum hinc crimina nostra ferat.
Dicta probant, rapiuntque virum, simul in mare torque
Et lintrem levius quàm prius îsse ferunt.
Hinc, hinc quàm gravis est peccati sarcina, disce,
Cujus non potuit pondera ferre ratis.

## AD CANDIDUM, PAROCHUM VITÆ IMPROBÆ.

Factus es ô populi pastor mi Candide magni:
Ter tibi, terque tuo gratulor ergo gregi.
Aut mihi judicium minuit favor, aut tuus usquam
Non potuit talem grex habuisse patrem.
Non tibi vanarum est fastosa scientia rerum,
Quippe nec in populum est utilis illa tuum.
At raræ tibi sunt virtutes, sic tibi raros
Patribus ex priscis credo fuisse pares.
Quid faciant fugiantve tui, quo cernere possint,
Vita potest claro pro speculo esse tua.
Tantum opus admonitu est, ut te intueantur, et ut tu
Quæ facis, hæc fugiant: quæ fugis, hæc faciant.

## E GRÆCO.

Naufragus hac situs est, jacet illa rusticus urna,
Ad styga sive solo par via, sive salo.

## IN POSTHUMUM EPISCOPUM.

Præsul es, et merito præfectus Posthume sacris,
Quo magis in toto non erat orbe sacer.
Gaudeo tam magnum, tam sanctum gaudeo munus,
Tandem non temerè nunc, velut ante dari.
Nempe errare solet temerarius impetus: at te
Delectum magna sedulitate patet.
Namque ubi de multis tantummodo sumitur unus,
Sæpe malus casu, pessimus arte venit.
At te, de multis legitur si millibus unus,
Stultior haud possit, deteriorve legi.

## DE BOLLANO.

Urticis lectum Bollano urentibus omnem
Insternunt socii, quum cubiturus erat.

Se tamen urticis ustum negat, haud negat illas
In tenebris nudum se reperisse tamen.
Unguibus aut igitur vitata carne necesse est,
Aut nudis tantùm dentibus inciderint.
Cum tamen in tenebris illæsus repperit herbas,
Urticas quanam repperit esse nota?

## DE VULPE ÆGROTA ET LEONE, APOLOGUS.

Dum jacet angusta vulpes ægrota caverna,
Ante fores blando constitit ore leo:
Ecquid amica vales? citò me lambente valebis,
Nescis in lingua vis mihi quanta mea.
Lingua tibi medica est, vulpes ait: at nocet illud,
Vicinos quòd habet tam bona lingua malos.

## DE LEONE ET LYSIMACHO.

Dum domitus placido leo lamberet ore magistrum,
Provocat exemplo quemlibet ipse suo.
Cumque diu ex tanta prodiret nemo corona,
Prosiliit forti pectore Lysimachus.
Ipse, ait, audebo linguam tetigisse leonis,
Sed tam vicinis dentibus haud faciam.

## IN FABIANUM ASTROLOGUM.

Uno multa die de rebus fata futuris,
Credula quum de te turba frequenter emat.
Inter multa unum si fors mendacia verum est,
Illico vis vatem te Fabiane putem.
At tu de rebus semper mentire futuris,
Si potes hoc, vatem te Fabiane putem.

## IN REGEM SCOTIÆ, QUI ARCEM NORHAMAM PRODITAM SIBI TAMEN OPPUGNAVIT, DISSIMULANS PRODITAM ESSE.

Scote quid oppugnas Norhamam viribus arcem?
Antè tibi falsa proditione datam.
Artibus ergo malis capta fuit arce voluptas
Magna tibi forsan, sed brevis illa fuit.
Teque, tuisque mala (merita sed) morte peremptis,
Ars intra est paucos capta, recepta dies.
Proditor inque tuo peteret cum præmia regno,
Mors sceleri est merces reddita digna suo.
Proditor ut pereat, pereat cui proditur hostis,
Invicta in fatis arx habet ista suis.

## EPITAPHIUM JACOBI REGIS SCOTORUM.

Scotorum Jacobus princeps, regno hostis amico,
Fortis et infelix hac ego condor humo.
Quanta animi fuerat, fidei vis tanta fuisset:
Cætera contigerant non inhonesta mihi.
Sed pudet heu jactare, queri piget: ergo tacebo,
Garrulaque O utinam fama tacere velis.
Vos tamen O reges moneo, rex nuper et ipse,
Ne sit (ut esse solet) nomen inane fides.

## IN MALUM PICTOREM.

Exprimit egregia pictor mirabilis arte,
Dira canis pavitans ut fugit ora lepus.
Intima naturæ scrutatus viscera fingit,
In cursu leporem retro metu aspicere.
Tam bene qui leporem fugientem expresserit, opto,
Sit lepus, et fugiens ipse retro aspiciat.

## IN EUNDEM.

Cum cane sic pictus lepus est, ut dicere nemo
Esset uterve canis, posset, uterve lepus:
Pictor ubi hoc didicit, quod inerti defuit arti,
Supplevit miro callidus ingenio.
Res ut aperta foret, longeque facesseret error.
Subscripsit tantum, est hic canis, iste lepus.

## DE TYNDARO.

Non minimo insignem naso dum fortè puellam
Basiat, en voluit Tyndarus esse dicax.
Frustra ait ergo tuis mea profero labra labellis,
Nostra procul nasus distinet ora tuus.
Protinus erubuit, tacitaque incanduit ira,
Nempe parum salso tacta puella sale.
Nasus ab ore meus tua si tenet oscula, dixit,
Qua nasus non est, hac dare parte potes.

## IN GERMANUM BRIXIUM FALSA SCRIBENTEM DE CHORDIGERA NAVE GALLORUM, ET HERVEO EJUS DUCE.

Hervea dum celebras Brixi, tua carmina damnas,
Nam tibi scripta mala est res bene gesta fide.
Historiam spondes illa Germane poesi,
Quæ modò quùm non sit vera, nec historia est.
Aut odio incipiant, aut indulgere favori,
Et quisnam historiis qui modò credat, erit?
Jamque nec ipse tuus per te laudem Herveus ullam
Sublata rerum possit habere fide.

## IN EUNDEM, DE EODEM HERVEO ET EADEM NAVE, QUÆ IN PUGNA NAVALI CONFLAGRAVIT.

Brixius immerita quòd sustulit Hervea laude,
Quòd merito adversum fraudat honore ducem.

Quòd de Chordigera mendacia mille carina
Contrà quàm sese res habuere, canat :
Non equidem miror, neque pravo falsa favore,
Quod voluit prudens scribere, credo tamen.
Sed de Chordigera, vatem qui vera doceret,
Quivit adhuc reducem nemo referre pedem.
Ipse tamen (sciret quo certius omnia) dignus,
Qui media præsens nave fuisset, erat.

## VERSUS EXCERPTI E CHORDIGERA BRIXII, AD QUOS ALLUDUNT QUÆDAM EPIGRAMMATA SEQUENTIA.

Circumeunt unum dextra, lævaque Britanni
Hervea, tela volant brumali grandine plura
In caput unius Hervei : quæ fortiter heros
Excutiens clypeo, contraria in agmina vertit.

## POSTEA DE EADEM CHORDIGERA.

Ipse suos Herveus comites hortatur, et instat,
Atque inter primos audax magno impete in hostes
Invehitur, ferit hos misso per tempora telo,
Transigit huîc gladio costas, huîc ilia nudat,
Decutit his caput impacta per colla bipenni,
His latus, his humeros hastâ præstringit acuta.

## EPIGRAMMA MORI, ALLUDENS AD VERSUS SUPERIORES.

Quod ferit hos Herveus misso per tempora telo,
Iliaque et costas transigit huîc gladio,
Decutit his caput impacta per colla bipenni,
His humeros hasta perforat atque latus :
Tum clypeo adversa quòd tela volantia parte
Fortiter excutiens unde volant, regerit.
Effugit hoc sensum, tot telis pugnet ut unus,
Isque cui clypeo est altera onusta manus.
Fortis huic pugnæ rerum natura repugnat,
Præteritum quiddam est hac puto parte tibi.

Namque ubi magnanimum produxeris Hervea, telis
Pugnantem pariter quattuor, et clypeo,
Forte tibi exciderat: sed debuit antè moneri
Lector, tunc Herveo quinque fuisse manus.

## ALIUD, DE EODEM.

Miraris clypeum, gladium, hastam, tela, bipennem,
Herveus quoque gerat belligeretque modo.
Dextera crudeli manus est armata bipenni,
Instructa est gladio sæva sinistra suo.
Jam telum, telique vicem quæ præbeat, hastam
Fortiter (impressis dentibus) ore tenet.
At quia tela caput brumali grandine plura
Involitant, clypeum collocat in capite.
Duritia capitis draco cesserit, ungue Celæno,
Sic elephas illi dentibus impar erat.
Ergo novum adversos monstrum procurrit in hostes,
Terribilis rictu, terribilisque manu.

## HIC PRIMUS VERSUS BRIXII EST, QUO HERVEA JAM MORITURUM DE SE FACIT VATICINANTEM.

Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos,
Hervei magna canit Brixius acta ducis.
Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos,
Herveum, hostes, socios, concremat atque rates.
Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos:
Unde igitur vates, quæ cecinit, didicit?
Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos,
Phœbeo reliquum est audiat ex tripode.

## IN EUNDEM, VERSUS POETARUM SUFFURANTEM.

Priscos poetas nemo te colit magis,
Legitve diligentius.
Nam nemo priscis è poetis omnibus
Est, cujus ipse ex versibus,

Non hinc et inde flosculos et gemmulas
Manu capaci legeris,
Vatem redonans tanto honore protinus,
Scriptis tuis ut inseras.
Beasque vatem: nempe quæ tu congeris,
Suos parentes indicant,
Magisque resplendent tua inter carmina,
Quàm nocte lucent sidera.
Tantum decus vati invidere nemini
Soles, amicus omnium,
Ne quis, decus prioris olim seculi,
Neglectus abs te defleat.
Ergo sacrati ne poetarum modi
Longo situ obsolescerent,
Injuria tu vindicatos temporis
Novo nitore percolis.
Hoc est vetustis arte novitatem dare,
Qua re nihil felicius.
Ars O beata, quisquis arte isthac tamen
Vetusta novitati dabit,
Is arte nulla (quamlibet sudet diu)
Novis vetustatem dabit.

## ALLUSIO AD CENOTAPHIUM HERVEI.

Hervea cum Deciis unum conferre duobus,
Ætas te Brixi judice nostra potest.
Sed tamen hoc distant, illi quòd sponte peribant,
Hic periit, quoniam non potuit fugere.

## PHOEBUS BRIXIUM ALLOQUITUR.

Vis de grandisono quid sentio scire libello,
Qui arma, necemque Hervei bellipotentis habet?
Ergo sacer Phœbo sacra hæc oracula vates
Accipe, Phœbæo reddita de tripode.

Una opere in toto deest syllaba, mille supersunt.
Plenum opus est: nam quid posset abesse minus?
Una uno hæc legitur, sed non legitur tibi mense,
Mens. Et plus quàm medium syllaba mensis habet.

## IN BRIXIUM POETAM.

Brixi tale tuo natum est ænigma libello,
A Sphinge opponi possit ut Oedipodi.
Chordigera est tibi tota frequens, tibi non tamen usquam est
Cor. Cordigeræ in toto syllaba prima libro.

## AD SABINUM, CUI UXOR ABSENTI CONCEPIT.

Subsidium vitæ, seræ spes una senectæ,
Nata tibi est soboles, curre Sabine domum.
Curre, salutanda est uxor fœcunda, videnda est
Chara tibi soboles, curre Sabine domum.
Curre, inquam, ac propera, nimiumque videbere lentus,
Quantumvis properes, curre Sabine domum.
Jam queritur conjux de te tua, jam tua de te
Conqueritur soboles, curre Sabine domum.
Nunquam ingratus ades, neque cum soboles tibi nata est,
Sed neque cum genita est, curre Sabine domum.
Curre ut adesse, puer sacro dum fonte lavatur,
Nunc saltem possis, curre Sabine domum.

## AD CANDIDUM LAUDANTEM SANCTOS VIROS, CUM IPSE ESSET MALUS.

Sæpe bonos laudas, imitaris Candide nunquam:
Laudo, inquis, posita Candidus invidia.
Nam quicunque bonos imitatur, et æmulus idem est.
O lacte, ô nivibus Candide candidior.

## QUIS OPTIMUS REIPUB. STATUS.

Quæris uter melius, rexne imperet, anne senatus
Neuter (quod sæpe est) si sit uterque malus.
Sin sit uterque bonus, numero præstare senatum,
Inque bonis multis plus reor esse boni.
Difficile est numerum forsan reperire bonorum,
Sic facile est unum sæpius esse malum.
Et fuerit medius sæpe inter utrumque senatus:
Sed tibi vix unquam rex mediocris erit.
Consilioque malus regitur meliore senator,
Rex consultores sed regit ipse suos.
Alter ut eligitur populo, sic nascitur alter:
Sors hic cæca regit, certum ibi consilium.
Illeque se factum populo, populum sibi factum,
Scilicet hic ut sint quos regat ipse putat.
Rex est in primo semper blandissimus anno,
Omni anno consul rex erit ergo novus.
Rex cupidus longo populum corroserit ævo,
Si consul malus est, spes melioris adest.
Nec me nota movet, quæ pastam fabula muscam
Ferre jubet, subeat ne malè pransa locum.
Fallitur, expleri regem qui credit avarum,
Nunquam hæc non vacuam mittet hirudo cutem.
At patrum consulta gravis dissensio turbat,
Regi dissentit nemo: malum hoc gravius.
Nam quum de magnis varia est sententia rebus,
Quæstio sed tamen hæc nascitur unde tibi?
Estne usquam populus, cui regem sive senatum
Præficere arbitrio tu potes ipse tuo?
Si potes hoc, regnas: nec jam cui, consule, tradas
Imperium: prior est quæstio, an expediat.

## DE FUSCO POTORE.

Potando medicus perituros dixit ocellos
Fusco, qui cùm se consuluisset, ait:

Perdere dulcius est potando, quàm ut mea servem
Erodenda pigris lumina vermiculis.

## AD AMICUM.

Littera nostra, tuis quantum mihi colligo scriptis,
Sera tibi veniet, nec tibi sera tamen.
Nec bello veniunt intempestiva peracto,
Quæ bellò poterant tela juvare nihil.

## DE REGE ET RUSTICO.

Rusticus in sylvis nutritus venit in urbem,
Rusticior Fauno, rusticior Satyro.
En populus plena stetit hinc, stetit inde platea,
Unaque vox tota, rex venit, urbe fuit.
Rusticus insolita vocis novitate movetur,
Quidnam ita respectet turba, videre cupit.
Rex subitò invehitur, celebri præeunte caterva,
Aureus excelso conspiciendus equo.
Tum verò ingeminant, vivat rex: undique regem
Attonito populus suspicit ore suum.
Rusticus, ô ubi rex? ubi rex est? clamat: at unus,
Ille, ait, est illo qui sedet altus equo.
Hiccine rex? puto me derides, rusticus inquit,
Ille mihi picta veste videtur homo.

## IN EPISCOPUM ILLITERATUM, DE QUO ANTE EPIGRAMMA EST SUB NOMINE POSTHUMI.

Magne pater clamas, occidit littera, in ore
Hoc unum, occidit littera, semper habes.
Cavisti bene tu, ne te ulla occidere possit
Littera, non ulla est littera nota tibi.
Nec frustra metuis ne occidat littera, scis non
Vivificet qui te spiritus esse tibi.

## DE SACERDOTE RIDICULE ADMONENTE POPULUM DE JEJUNIO, CUM DIES JAM PRÆTERISSET.

Admonuit populum noster cum fortè sacerdos,
Proxima quos fastos afferat hebdomada :
Martyris Andreæ magnum et memorabile festum est,
Scitis, ait, carus quàm fuit ille Deo.
Squalida lascivam tenuent jejunia carnem,
Hoc suetum est, sancti hoc instituere patres.
Prænoneo ergo omneis, in martyris hujus honorem,
Quòd jejunari debuit, inquit, heri.

## DE QUODAM MALE CANTANTE, ET BENE LEGENTE.

Tam malè cantasti, possis ut episcopus esse,
Tam bene legisti, ut non tamen esse queas.
Non satis esse putet, si quis vitabit utrumvis,
Sed fieri si vis præsul, utrumque cave.

## AD SABINUM.

Quos antè conjux quattuor
Natos Sabine protulit,
Multum ecce dissimiles tibi,
Tuos nec ipse deputas.
Sed quem tibi puellulum
Enixa jam nuperrimè est,
Solum tibi simillimum
Pro quattuor complecteris.
Adulterinos quattuor
Vocas, repellis, abdicas.
Hunc unicum ceu γνήσιον,
Qui sit tibi hæres, destinas.
Hunc ergo in ulnis gestiens,
Exosculandum ab omnibus,
Ut filium fert simia,
Totam per urbem bajulas.
Atqui graves tradunt Sophi,

Quibus labor studiumque, id est,
Secreta quicquid efficit
Natura perscrutarier.
Ergo graves tradunt Sophi,
Quodcunque matres interim
Imaginantur fortiter,
Dum liberis datur opera,
Ejus latenter et notas,
Certas et indelebiles,
Modoque inexplicabili
In semen ipsum congeri:
Quibus receptis intimè,
Simulque concrescentibus,
A mente matris insitam
Natus refert imaginem.
Quum tot abesses millibus,
Dum gignit uxor quattuor,
Quòd esset admodum tui
Secura, dissimiles parit.
Sed unus omnium hic puer
Tui refert imaginem,
Quòd mater, hunc dum concipit,
Sollicita de te plurimùm,
Te tota cogitaverat,
Dum pertimescit anxia,
Ne tu Sabine incommodus
Velutque lupus in fabulam
Supervenires interim.

## DE PRINCIPE ET RUSTICO SELANDO, RIDICULUM.

Quum spectaret aquas princeps, in ponte resedit,
Primoresque suos ante stetere pedes,
Rusticus adsedit, modico tamen intervallo,
Civilemque dato se putat esse loco.
Suscitat hunc quidam, et cum principe, dixit, eodem
Ponte sedere audes rustice? nonne pudet?

Ille refert, scelus est in eodem ponte sedere?
Quid si pons longus millia dena foret?

## DE AULICO, RIDICULUM.

Quum descendit equo, de circumstantibus uni
Aulicus hunc teneas quisquis es, inquit, equum.
Ille, ut erat pavidus, dixit: Domine ergo ferocem
Hunc rogo qui teneat, sufficit unus, equum?
Unus ait potis est retinere, subintulit ille:
Si potis est unus, tu potes ipse tuum.

## IN MILITEM FUGACEM, ET ANNULATUM.

Aureus iste manus miles cur annulus ornat,
Jure tuos ornet qui meliore pedes?
Utilior nuper, melioque in Marte feroci
Planta tibi palmis una duabus erat.

## IN TUSCUM POTOREM.

Perdis ait Tusco medicus tua lumina vino,
Consultat secum quid velit ergo sequi.
Sidera, terra fretumque solent quæcunque videri,
Omnia sunt, inquit, visa revisa mihi.
Multa mihi, sed vina tamen gustanda supersunt,
Multa refert annus, quum nova musta novus.
Jam certus firmusque valebitis, inquit, ocelli,
Nempe satis vidi, non satis usque bibi.

## IN ARNUM PERJURUM.

Jurasti satis Arne diu, tandem obtinuisti,
Jurare ut posthac jam tibi non sit opus.
Cœpit ubique tuo vir juratissime verbo,
Quàm juramento non minor esse fides.

## IN EUNDEM.

Et semper juras, et cunctis Arne minaris,
Vis scire utilitas quæ venit inde tibi?
Sic juras, ut nemo tibi jam denique credat:
Sic minitaris, ut has nemo minas metuat.

## IN EUNDEM.

Arno nemo magis pedibus valet usque, sed olim
Frigore contractas perdidit ille manus.
Optat bella tamen cui pes citus, utraque manca est
Cui manus in bello, scis puto, quid faciet.
At cui lingua procax, manus est ignava, procax est
Huic non ignava lingua secanda manu.

## DE MARULLO.

Admonuit medicus lippum Theodore Marullum,
Ne vinum, cæcus ni velit esse, bibat.
Pareat ut medico (quanquam ægrè) abstemius esse
Ecce duos totos sustinet usque dies.
Post sitit assueti revocatus imagine vini,
Jamque foràs medico vera minante ruit.
Ventum erat ad vinum, quum sic sua lumina mœstus
Affatur, posito jam peritura mero.
Huc iter est, huc me fidi duxistis ocelli,
Nunc bibite, et dulces ambo valete duces.
Gustus odorque manent, miratur abire colorem,
In nigras abeunt lumina dum tenebras.
Hoc tamen adversum lenit solamine casum,
Dote meri minima quòd cariturus erat.

## IN RISCUM EQUITEM IMBELLEM.

Riscus eques prudens, longoque peritus ab usu,
Dissimiles, causa non sine, pascit equos.

Namque alit ille duos, volucrem præverterit alter,
Alter sed pigro pigrior est asino.
Hic ergo non festinantem ad prælia defert,
Ille prius tuba quàm clanxerit, inde refert.

## IN GELLIAM.

Mentitur qui te dicit mea Gellia fuscam :
Judice me non es Gellia fusca, nigra es.

## IN EANDEM.

Candida sum, dicis, fateor, sed candida quum sis,
Cur tibi candorem hunc obtegit atra cutis ?

## IN EUPARIPHUM VESTE, OPPIGNORATO FUNDO, EMPTA.

Non miror sudare tuæ te pondere vestis,
Quattuor hæc terræ jugera vestis habet.
Quantum viventi tibi terræ ingesseris usquam,
Tam magnum tumulum, nec tumulatus habet.

## IN GAREMANUM, VENDITIS AGRIS PAUPEREM.

En patrios nuper Garemanus vendidit agros,
Nunc subitò fama vivere fertur inops.
Non illi ingenium, non illi industria defit :
Verum inimica viro fata nocere puto.
Nam putres fulvo glebas mutaverat auro
Callidus, et nunquam rem tamen ille facit.

## AD SABINUM.

Interîêre duæ, conjux tibi tertia nupsit,
Nec tibi fida tamen de tribus ulla fuit.
Non tantum ergo tuas, sed damnas improbe totum
Fœmineum irata mente Sabine genus.
Si tamen hanc æqua rem vis expendere lance,
Fies erga ipsas mitior ipse tuas.

Nam tres quum fuerint iisdem tibi moribus omnes,
Astra hæc nascenti fata dedere tibi.
Si genesis tua te semper jubet esse cuculum,
Scilicet expectas uxor ut astra regat?
Casta futura alii fuerat: quòd adultera tecum est,
Hoc meritò fatis imputat illa tuis.

## IN NAUFRAGUM MORSUM A VIPERA IN LITTORE. E GRÆCO.

Æquoris insanas evasit naufragus undas,
Tristius Afra salo præbet arena solum.
Dum jacet ecce gravi pressus prope littora somno
Nudus, et infesto fessus ab usque freto:
Vipera trux perimit: frustra fugis æquora frustra,
Heu miser in terris debita fata tibi.

## DE CHIRURGO ET ANU.

Unxit anus ægros velans chirurgus ocellos,
Utile persuadens hoc fore quinque dies.
Interea mappas, pelves, mortaria, discos,
Quicquid onus tutum non facit, inde rapit.
Quum sanata oculos circumtulit illa revinctos,
Instrumenta suæ sentit abesse domus.
Mercedem ergo exacta, tua contingeret, inquit,
Uberior pactum est ut mihi visus ope.
At video nunc quam antè minus quorum usus in æde est:
Vidi multa prius, nunc video inde nihil.

## AD QUENDAM LEVEM.

Quàm tibi mens levis est, tibi si pes tam levis esset,
In medio leporem posses prævertere campo.

## DE HERODE ET HERODIADE.

Coram Herode Herodiadis dum filia saltat,
Dum quo debuerat displicuisse placet,

Ebrius affectu rex conjugis, ebrius illo
Fortunæ luxu, prætercaque mero:
Opta ait ô virgo, dabitur, juravimus, hujus
Dimidium regni poscere si libeat,
Impia suggestu sceleratæ filia matris,
Inquit: Baptistæ da precor ergo caput.
Dona petis virgo (si saltatricula virgo est)
Quæ vix sustineas cernere dona petis.
O funesta parens, ô natæ dira noverca,
Saltare, atque homines quam jugulare doces.
Rex dolet, et tristis concedit, nempe coactus
Jurisjurandi relligione sui.
O regem fidum, sed tunc tantummodo fidum,
Majus perfidia est quum scelus, ipsa fides.

## AD QUENDAM EBRIOSUM.

Tecum in colloquium quòd non properantius ivi,
Segniciem incusas, conquerarisque meam.
Confiteor verè, tibi non in tempore veni,
Serior aut citior debuit hora legi.
Aut utinam ejusdem venissem mane diei,
Aut tibi venissem mane sequente die.
Nunc res luce nimis tractari cœpit adulta,
Quando tua factum est ebrietate nihil.

## IN PICTURAM HERODIANÆ MENSÆ.

Sanguine funesta est Herodis mensa virili,
Sanguine funesta est mensaque Flaminii.
Tam similes cædes similes fecere puellæ,
Illam saltatrix obtinet, hanc meretrix.
Id tamen intererat, meretrici vita nocentis,
At saltatrici penditur innocui.

## IN EANDEM PICTURAM.

Ora viri fœdo sancti fluitantia tabo,
Decussumque gerit regia mensa caput.
Corpora sic regi rex Atreus ambo Thyesti
Natorum apposuit frater edenda patri.
Sic regi Odrysio natum regina peremptum
Fida soror, genitrix perfida ponit Itym.
Talia regales ornant bellaria mensas:
Crede mihi, non est pauperis iste cibus.

## IN VEHEMENTER NASUTUM. E GRÆCO.

Si tuus ad solem statuatur nasus, hiante
Ore, bene ostendas dentibus, hora quota est.

## IN FUCATUM. E GRÆCO.

Cur emitur fucus, coma, dens, mel, ceraque: posset
Quum persona tibi tota minoris emi?

## IN HISTRIONEM. E GRÆCO.

Cætera ad historiam, quiddam tamen, id quoque magnum,
Jam tibi saltatum contra erat historiam.
Dum Nioben ageres, stabas tanquam lapis esses:
Quum fieres Canapeus, ecce repentè cadis.
At Canacem gladio referens, quum vivus abisti,
Hoc tibi saltatum contra erat historiam.

## IN HISTRIONEM. E GRÆCO.

Saltavit Nioben, saltavit Daphnida Memphis:
Ligneus ut Daphnen, saxeus ut Nioben.

## SOBRIOS ESSE DIFFICILIORES. E GRÆCO.

Vespere quum bibimus, homines sumus atque benigni:
Mane homini siccus trux fera surgit homo.

## IN ANDREAM IN MARE VOMENTEM.

Gratus es Andrea, dignusque cui bene fiat,
Nam pisces totiés qui te pavêre, repascis.

## DE EODEM.

Æquoris edisti pisces, irascitur æquor:
Eque tuo fœtus exigit ore suos.

## IN PUELLAM DIVARICATIS TIBIIS EQUITANTEM.

Ergo puella viri quis te negat esse capacem,
Quum tua tam magnum circumdant crura caballum?

## AD GALLUM SUBLEGENTEM VETERUM CARMINA.

Vatibus idem animusque, et verè spiritus idem,
Qui fuit antiquis, est modò Galle tibi.
Carmina namque eadem, versusque frequenter eosdem,
Quos fecere illi, tu quoque Galle facis.

## IN SCURRAM PAUPEREM.

Scurra ubi jam fures totam sibi nocte videret
Scrutantes magna sedulitate domum:
Risit, et ô media quid vos hic nocte videtis?
Miror, ait, media nil ego cerno die.

## DE SOLICITA POTENTUM VITA.

Semper habet miseras immensa potentia curas,
Anxia perpetuis sollicitudinibus.

Non prodit multis nisi circumseptus ab armis,
Non nisi gustato vescitur antè cibo.
Tutamenta quidem sunt hæc : tamen hæc male tutum
Illum, aliter tutus qui nequit esse, docent.
Nempe satellitium metuendos admonet enses :
Toxica prægustans esse timenda docet.
Ergo timore locus quisnam vacat hic ? ubi gignunt,
Hæc eadem pellunt, quæ metuenda, metum.

## IN PRIVIGNUM, COLLAPSA NOVERCÆ STATUA OPPRESSUM. E GRÆCO.

Flore novercalem cingis privigne columnam,
Morte ratus mores interiisse malos.
Te tamen illa premit subitò inclinata : novercæ,
Si privigne sapis, ipsa sepulchra, fuge.

## AD QUENDAM POETAM EXTEMPORALEM.

Hos quid te scripsisse mones ex tempore versus ?
Nam liber hoc loquitur, te reticente, tuus.

## IN NOVERCAS. E GRÆCO.

Privigno vel amans infortunata noverca est :
Hippolyto gravis hoc Phædra docere potest.

## IN QUENDAM QUI DICEBAT, CARMINIBUS SUIS NON DEFUTURUM GENIUM.

Hoc habet Hispâni festivum epigramma poetæ,
Victurus genium debet habere liber.
Dum legis hunc versum, jam tu quoque scribere versus
Tota mente paras, sed sine mente tamen.
Quæve canas, qualive modo contemnis : ea est spes,
Victura hæc genio qualiacunque suo.
Namque tuis genium vir tam geniose Camœnis,
Non dubitas aliquem mox alicunde fore.

Tu tamen (et cariturus erit) tuus hic liber, opta
Ut careat genio, qui caret ingenio.
Cui genius vitam producat si quis, erit quis
Ex geniis, adsunt qui tibi mille, malis.
Sed neque sic vivet, vati si credis eidem,
Nam non vivere, sed vita, valere bene, est.
Quòd si vita libri est jugi languescere probro,
Detur et æterna vivere morte tibi.

## DE CUPIDITATE REGNANDI.

Regibus è multis regnum cui sufficit unum,
Vix rex unus erit, si tamen unus erit.
Regibus è multis regnum bene qui regat unum,
Vix tamen unus erit, si tamen unus erit.

## DE DEDITIONE NERVIÆ HENRICO VIII. ANGLIÆ REGI.

Belliger invictam domuit te Nervia Cæsar,
Non tamen extremis absque utriusque malis.
Te capit Henricus, capit et sine sanguine, princeps
Magnò tam major Cæsare quàm melior.
Sensit honorificum sibi rex cepisse tibique,
Utile sensisti non minus ipsa capi.

## DE FABULLA ET ATTALO.

Fabulla nuper nescio quid Attalo
Irata, et illum commovere gestiens,
Ostendereque quàm prorsus hunc nihili putet,
Juravit illi, si sibi centum forent
Membra mulier quibus fit, è centum tamen
Præstare dignaretur haud unum Attalo.
Non inquit ille? quæ, malum, est isthæc nova
Frugalitas tibi? quæve parsimonia?
Certè solebas esse liberalior.
Unum ne de centum gravareris modò

Avara commodare? at aliquando unicum
Tantum quum haberes, unicum tamen viris
Centum solebas dare benigna centies.
Heu metuo ne quid ista portendat tibi
Monstrosa tandem parcitas, magni mali.

## DE FEBRICITANTE, ET MEDICO BIBACI.

Febre laboraret mihi quum puer hemitritæo,
Fortè ibi Sauromatæ posco medentis opem.
Sensit ut admoto salientem pollice venam,
Fortis, ait, calor est, sed calor ille cadet.
Flagitat ergo cyphum, fundumque exhaurit ad imum,
Quantum nec Bitias ebibiturus erat.
Haurit, ad æquales ægrotum provocat haustus,
Et facere hoc temerè ne videatur, ait:
Æstuat hic valde, valde biba: ergo necesse est,
Non parvo obruitur magna liquore pyra.

## DE HESPERO CONFITENTE.

Ex more sacro dum sacerdoti Hesperus
Commissa fassus expiaret crimina,
Explorat hujus ille conscientiam,
Et cautus omne examinat scelerum genus:
Interque multa quærit, an unquam malos
Ritu prophano crediderat in dæmonas.
Vah ego ne credam in dæmones, inquit, pater,
Multo labore vix adhuc credo in Deum.

## DE OCCASIONE DEO. E GRÆCO.

Unde erat hic plastes? Sicyonius. At quis erat? dic.
Lysippus. Tu quis? tempus ego omne domans.
Cur summis instas digitis? roto semper. At alas
Cur pedibus gestas? ut levis aura feror.

At dextram cur armat acuta novacula ? signum est,
Quòd conferri acies non potis ulla mihi est.
Cur coma fronte jacet ? quòd qui me prendere captat,
Præveniat. Calvum est cur tibi retrò caput ?
Quòd postquam levibus præceps effugero pennis,
Nil aget à tergo qui revocare volet.
Unde igitur posses documentum sumere, talem
Artificis posuit me tibi docta manus.

## DE PHYLLIDE ET PRISCO, IMPARITER AMANTIBUS.

Tam Phyllis cupido bene nubet candida Prisco,
Quàm bene spumanti vitrea lympha mero.
Phyllida Priscus amat calido ferventius igne,
Frigidius gelida Priscus amatur aqua.
Jungetur tutò, nam si simul ardeat illa,
Sustineat flammas quæ domus una duas ?

## DE NUMMIS ANTIQUIS APUD HIERONYMUM BUSLIDIANUM SERVATIS.

Roma suis olim ducibus quàm debuit, illi
Tam debent omnes Buslidiane tibi.
Roma suis ducibus servata est : ipse reservas
Romanos Roma præmoriente duces.
Nam quæ cæsareos antiqua numismata vultus,
Aut referunt claros tumve priusve viros ;
Hæc tu sæclorum studio quæsita priorum
Congeris, et solas has tibi ducis opes.
Cumque triumphales densus cinis occulat arcus,
Ipse triumphantum nomen et ora tenes.
Nec jam Pyramides procerum monumenta suorum
Tam sunt, quàm pyxis Buslidiane tua.

## AD EUNDEM.

Ecquid adhuc placidam mi Buslidiane Camœnam
Tua coerces capsula ?

In tenebras abdis cur dignam luce, quid illi ?
Quid invides mortalibus ?
Musæ fama tuæ toto debetur ab orbe,
Quid huîc repellis gloriàm ?
Gratus ab hac fructus toti debetur et orbi,
Quid unus obstas omnibus ?
An tibi casta procul cœtu cohibenda virili
Cohors videtur virginum ?
Sunt hæc virginibus fateor metùenda, sed illis
Devirginari quæ queunt.
Ædc tuam intrepidus, pudor est inflexilis illi,
Nec ille rudis, vel rusticus.
Ut tua non ipsi cessura est virgo Dianæ,
Pudore grata lacteo :
Sic tua non ipsi cessura est Virgo Minervæ,
Sensu, lepôre, gratia.

## AD BUSLIDIANUM DE ÆDIBUS MAGNIFICIS MECHLINIÆ.

Culta modò fixis dum contemplabor ocellis
Ornamenta tuæ, Buslidiane, domus ;
Obstupui, quonam exoratis carmine fatis
Tot rursus veteres nactus es artifices ?
Nam reor illustres vafris ambagibus ædes,
Non nisi Dædaleas ædificasse manus.
Quod pictum est illic, pinxisse videtur Apelles :
Quod sculptum, credas esse Myronis opus.
Plastica quum video, Lysippi suspicor artem :
Quum statuas, doctum cogito Praxitelem.
Disticha quodque notant opus, at quæ disticha vellet,
Si non composuit, composuisse Maro.
Organa tam varias modulis imitantia voces,
Sola tamen veteres vel potuisse negem.
Ergo domus tota est vel sæcli nobile prisci,
Aut quod prisca novum sæcula vincat, opus.

At domus hæc nova nunc, tardè seroque senescat,
Tunc videat dominum, nec tamen usque, senem.

## DE PHILOMENO ET AGNA, CONJUGATIS MALA FIDE.

En redeunt nostro Veneris miracula sæclo,
Qualia nec prisco tempore facta reor;
Flos juvenes inter Philomenus, et Agna puellas,
Junguntur Paphiæ ritè favore Deæ.
Ille sed heu nimium laudata voce superbit,
Illa tumet placidi laudibus ingenii.
Ergo conjugium votis tam sæpe petitum,
Non Veneri acceptum, sed retulere sibi.
Ingratis adimit formam Dea, neve coirent
Mutati, dispar indit utrique genus.
Mox Philomenus avem quavis æstate canentem
In cuculum: inque avidam vertitur Agna lupam.

## MEDICINÆ AD TOLLENDOS FŒTORES ANHELITUS, PROVENIENTES A CIBIS QUIBUSDAM.

Sectile ne tetros porrum tibi spiret odores,
Protinus a porro fac mihi cepe vores.
Denuò fœtorem si vis depellere cepæ,
Hoc facile efficient allia mansa tibi.
Spiritus at si post etiam gravis allia restat,
Aut nihil, aut tantum tollere merda potest.

## AD LECTOREM DE NOVO TESTAMENTO, VERSO AB ERASMO ROTERODAMO.

Sanctum opus, et docti labor immortalis Erasmi
Prodit, et ô populis commoda quanta vehit!
Lex nova nam veteri primum est interprete læsa,
Scribentum varia post vitiata manu.
Sustulerat forsan mendas Hieronymus olim,
Sed periere pigro tam bona scripta situ

Tota igitur demptis versa est jam denuò mendis,
Atque nova Christi lex nova luce nitet.
Nec tamen ambitiosè singula verba notavit,
Sanctum habuit quicquid vel mediocre fuit.
Quo fit ut hæc celeri si quis prætervolet ala,
Huîc nihil hic magni fortè putetur agi.
Idem si presso relegat vestigia gressu,
Censebit majus commodiusve nihil.

## AD REVERENDISSIMUM THOMAM CARDINALEM ET ARCHI-EPISCOPUM EBORACENSEM, IN LIBRUM NOVI TESTAMENTI, EI AB ERASMO DATUM.

Unice doctorum pater ac patrone virorum,
Pieridum pendet cujus ab ore chorus,
Cuî populus quantum defert et cedit honore,
Virtutes infra est tantum honor ipse tuas.
Ab liber iste tuo longè tibi venit Erasmo,
Hunc precor hoc animo quo dedit ipse, cape.
Nec dubito, capies: operi nam jure favorem
Autor, et autori conciliabit opus.
Ille tui cultor semper fuit, est opus ipsum
Lex Christi, studium quæ fuit usque tuum.
Illa paratur ab hac prudens tibi lege facultas,
Qua Momo coram reddere jura potes.
Namque ita perplexas populo mirante querelas
Discutis, ut victus non queat ipse queri.
Non humanâ tibi facit hoc sollertia, sed lex
Christi, judiciis unica norma tuis.
Ergo opus hoc placido præsul dignissime vultu
Excipe, et autori, quod facis, usque fave.

## AD REVERENDISSIMUM ARCHI-EPISCOPUM CANTUARIENSEM.

Quod bene sunt collata tuo pie præsul Erasmo
Tanta tua toties munera prompta manu,

Quàm non ducat iners quæ tu facis otia, monstrant
Multa, sed in primis indicat illud opus.
Ediderit quamvis numerosa volumina, fructu
Non sine, vincit opus cuncta priora novum.
Cunctorum utilitas, sed honor te est inter et illum :
Præstitit ille operam, tu bone præsul opem.
At partem ille suam toto tibi pectore cedit,
Quicquid agit, meritis imputat omne tuis.
Hunc petit ille sui fructum pater alme laboris,
Charus ut hoc tu sis omnibus, ille tibi.

## EPITAPHIUM IN SEPULCHRO JOHANNÆ, OLIM UXORIS MORI, DESTINANTIS IDEM SEPULCHRUM ET SIBI ET ALICIÆ, POSTERIORI UXORI.

Chara Thomæ jacet hoc Johanna uxorcula Mori,
Qui tumulum Aliciæ hunc destino, quique mihi.
Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta virentibus annis,
Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.
Altera privignis (quæ gloria rara novercæ est)
Tam pia, quam gnatis vix fuit ulla suis.
Altera sic mecum vixit, sic altera vivit,
Charior incertum est, hæc sit, an hæc fuerit.
O simul, ô juncti poteramus vivere nos tres
Quàm bene, si fatum relligioque sinant.
At societ tumulus, societ nos obsecro cœlum.
Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit.

## AD SE GESTIENTEM LÆTITIA, QUOD EVASERAT TEMPESTATEM.

Quid juvat insanas maris evasisse procellas ?
Lætitia est, ut non sit tibi vana, brevis.
Talis febre quies ægris intermicat, illa
Dum per acerba status itque reditque vices.
Quàm te plura manent optata tristia terra,
In rapido fuerant quàm subeunda freto ?

Aut ferrum, aut varii præcedent funera morbi,
Quorum uno est quovis mors minus ipsa gravis.
Quin eadem tumidas frustra vitata per undas,
Te premet in plumis insidiosa tamen.

## IN PINGUEM QUENDAM PATREM, CUI FREQUENS ERAT IN ORE, SCIENTIA INFLAT.

Quemlibet inflat ais vel teste scientia Paulo,
Hanc fugis : unde igitur tu pater ample tumes ?
Vix gestas crasso turgentem abdomine ventrem,
Inflaturque levi mens tibi stultitia.

## IN CHELONUM.

Cur adeò invisum est pigri tibi nomen aselli ?
Olim erat hoc magnus Chelone philosophus.
Ne tamen ipse nihil differre pateris ab illo,
Aureus ille fuit, plumbeus ipse magis.
Illi mens hominis asinino in corpore mansit :
At tibi in humano est corpore mens asini.

## DE FELE ET MURE.

Muscipula exemptum feli dum porrigo murem,
Haud avido prædam protinus ore vorat.
Sed trepidum in media captivum exponere terra
Sustinet, et miris ludere læta modis.
Adnutat cauda, tremulis inspectat ocellis,
Et lasciva caput jactat in omne latus.
Molliter attonitum pede suscitat ire parantem,
Corripit, inque vicem datque negatque viam.
Mox pede sublimem jaculatur, et excipit ore,
Deinde abit, et falsæ spem facit usque fugæ.
Excubat, et saltu fugientem læta reprendit
Protinus, inque locum quo fuga cœpta redit.
Digrediturque iterum, mirandoque improba sensu
Quæ misero mens est experimenta capit.

Hoc dum sæpe facit, securaque longius exit,
Mus rimam subitò repperit et subiit.
Illa cito revocata gradu frustra obsidet antrum,
Hic latebra tectus tutus ab hoste fuit.
Muscipula occiderat, nisi quòd cautela salusque
Feles, interitus quæ solet esse, fuit.

## GRATULATUR, QUOD EAM REPERERIT INCOLUMEM, QUAM OLIM FERME PUER AMAVERAT.

Vivis adhuc, primis ô me mihi charior annis,
Redderis atque oculis Elisabetha meis.
Quæ mala distinuit mihi te fortuna tot annos,
Penè puer vidi penè reviso senex.
Annos vita quater mihi quattuor egerat, inde
Aut duo defuerant, aut duo penè tibi.
Quum tuus innocuo rapuit me vultus amore,
Vultus, qui quo nunc fugit ab ore tuo!
Cum quondam dilecta mihi succurrit imago,
Hei facies quàm nil illius ista refert.
Tempora quæ, teneræ nunquam non invida formæ,
Te rapuere tibi, non rapuere mihi.
Ille decor nostros toties remoratus ocellos,
Nunc tenet à vultu pectora nostra tuo.
Languidus admoto solet ignis crescere flatu,
Frigidus obruerat quem suus antè cinis.
Tuque facis quamvis longè diversa priori,
Ut micet admonitu flamma vetusta novo.
Jam subit illa dies quæ ludentem obtulit olim
Inter virgineos te mihi prima choros.
Lactea cum flavi decuerunt colla capilli,
Cum gena par nivibus visa, labella rosis.
Cùm tua perstringunt oculos duo sidera nostros,
Perque oculos intrant in mea corda meos.
Cum velut attactu stupefactus fulminis hæsi
Pendulus à vultu tempora longa tuo.

Cum sociis risum exhibuit nostrisque tuisque
Tam rudis et simplex et male tectus amor.
Sic tua me cepit species : seu maxima verè,
Seu major visa est quàm fuit, esse mihi :
Seu fuit in causa primæ lanugo juventæ,
Cumque nova suetus pube venire calor :
Sidera seu quædam nostro communia natu
Viribus afflarant utraque corda suis.
Namque tui consors arcani conscia pectus
Garrula prodiderat concaluisse tuum.
Hinc datus est custos, ipsisque potentior astris
Janua, quos vellent illa coire vetat.
Ergo ita disjunctos diversaque fata secutos,
Tot nunc post hyemes reddidit ista dies.
Ista dies qua rara meo mihi lætior ævo,
Contigit occursu sospitis alma tui.
Tu prædata meos olim sine crimine sensus,
Nunc quoque non ullo crimine chara manes.
Castus amor fuerat, ne nunc incestior esset,
Si minus hoc probitas, ipsa dies faceret.
At superos, qui lustra boni post quinque valentem
Te retulere mihi, me retulere tibi,
Comprecor, ut lustris iterum post quinque peractis
Incolumis rursus contuar incolumem.

## THOMAS MORUS MARGARETÆ, ELISABETHÆ, CECILIÆ, AC JOANNI, DULCISSIMIS LIBERIS S. P.

Quattuor una meos invisat epistola natos,
Servet et incolumes à patre missa salus.
Dum peragratur iter, pluvioque madescimus imbre,
Dumque luto implicitus sæpius hæret equus :
Hoc tamen interea vobis excogito carmen,
Quod gratum, quanquam sit rude, spero fore.
Collegisse animi licet hinc documenta paterni,
Quanto plus oculis vos amet ipse suis :

Quem non putre solum, quem non male turbidus aêr,
Exiguusque altas trans equus actus aquas,
A vobis poterant divellere, quo minus omni
Se memorem vestri comprobet esse loco.
Nam crebrò dum nutat equus, cælumque minatur,
Condere non versus desinit ille tamen :
Carmina quæ multis vacuo vix pectore manant,
Sollicito patrius ritè ministrat amor.
Non adeò mirum si vos ego pectore toto
Complector, nam non est genuisse nihil.
Provida conjunxit soboli natura parentem,
Atque animus nodo colligat Herculeo.
Inde mihi teneræ est illa indulgentia mentis,
Vos tam sæpe meo sueta fovere sinu.
Inde est vos ego quòd soleo pavisse placenta,
Mitia cum pulchris et dare mala piris.
Inde quòd et serum textis ornare sŏlebam,
Quòd nunquam potui vos ego flere pati.
Scitis enim quàm crebra dedi oscula, verbera rara,
Flagrum pavonis non nisi cauda fuit,
Hanc tamen admovi timideque et molliter ipsam,
Ne vibex teneras signet amara nates.
Ah ferus est, dicique pater non ille meretur,
Qui lachrymas nati non flcat ipse sui.
Nescio quid faciant alii, sed vos bene scitis
Ingenium quàm sit molle piumque mihi.
Semper enim quos progenui vehementer amavi,
Et facilis (debet quod pater esse) fui.
At nunc tanta meo moles accrevit amori,
Ut mihi jam videor, vos nec amasse prius.
Hoc faciunt mores puerili ætate seniles,
Artibus hoc faciunt pectora culta bonis :
Hoc facit eloquio formatæ gratia linguæ,
Pensaque tam certŏ singula verba modo.
Hæc mea tam miro pertentant pectora motu,
Astringuntque meis nunc ita pignoribus :

Ut jam quod genui, quæ patribus unica multis
Causa est, adfectus sit propè nulla mei.
Ergo natorum carissima turba meorum,
Pergite vos vestro conciliare patri.
Et quibus effectum est vobis virtutibus istud,
Ut mihi jam videar vos nec amasse prius.
Efficitote (potestis enim) virtutibus iisdem,
Ut posthac videar vos nec amare modò.

## EXCUSAT, QUOD DUM LOQUERETUR CUM EXIMIO QUODAM PATRE, NOBILEM QUANDAM MATRONAM INGRESSAM THALAMUM, ATQUE ALIQUANDIU COLLOQUENTIBUS ILLIS ADSTANTEM, NON ANIMADVERTERAT.

Quum tua dignata est bonitas me visere nuper,
Atque humilem, præsul magne, subire casam:
Interea dum verba seris tam dulcia mecum,
Penderem ut vultu totus ab ipse tuo:
Ecce (quod ah mihi sero mei retulere ministri,
Nempe ubi tot res est acta diebus) heri
Matrona ingreditur, cultu spectanda superbo,
Sed quem forma tamen vicit, et hanc probitas:
Venit in usque thorum, stetit et mihi tempore longo
Proxima, contingens et cubito cubitum.
Inspicit antiquæ selecta numismata formæ,
Claraque tam claris gaudet imaginibus.
Sumere dignatur tenuis bellaria mensæ,
Venit et à dulci dulcior ore sapor.
Nostra nec in tantum vertuntur lumina lumen,
O mihi plus ipso nate stupore stupor.
Nunc ignosco mei quòd non monuere ministri,
Tam stupidum certè nemo putavit herum.
Oh oculos, longè qui prospexisse solebant,
Si qua refudisset tale puella jubar.
An senui? torpentque meo mihi corpore sensus?
Surgenti an genius mane sinister erat?

An tu, ne nisi te quicquam sentire valerem,
Surpueras lepido me mihi colloquio ?
Arte lyraque feras in sè converterat Orpheus,
In te mellifluis vertor et ipse sonis.
Sed tuus intentat magnum lepor iste periclum,
Neglectam sese ne putet illa mihi.
Hospita ne limis quum tam propè staret, ocellis
Vidisse, et visam dissimulasse ferar.
At vel hiulca prius mihi terra dehisceret optem,
Quàm sit in hoc animo tam fera barbaries,
Ut si quando, leves veluti mihi missa per auras,
In thalamum penetret candida nympha meum,
Non saltem aspiciam (si plura licere negetur)
Quaque licet memet candidus insinuem.
Ut miserum est non posse loqui ? nam cuncta fatetur,
Qui sermonis inops nulla negare potest.
Nunc mihi ~~sermonis quia non est copia Galli~~,
Quæ sola est dominæ patria lingua meæ,
Omnibus absolvar, non excusabimur uni,
Judice qua, causa statque caditque mea.
Vulnus ab Æmonia qui quondam pertulit hasta,
Rursus ab Æmonia est cuspide nactus opem.
Dedecus hoc lepidæ quoniam peperere fabellæ,
Quum dominæ et mihi me surripuere tuæ :
Dedecus hoc lepidæ debent purgare fabellæ,
Meque meæ dominæ conciliare tuæ.

## VERSUS SUMPTI EX ANTIMORO BRIXII, AD QUOS ALLUDIT EPIGRAMMA QUOD SUBJUNGITUR.

Hæc mihi dictanti adstabant diræ auribus omnes,
Et furiæ infernis concita turba vadis.
Alecto, et sacris caput irretita colubris,
Tisiphone, et terrens ore Megæra truci.

MORUS.

Brixius audivit postquam id reprehendere multos,
Quod falsa tantum scriberet.
Corrigere ut possit vitium hoc, aliquid modo visum est,
Verùm quod esset, edere:
Quod foret indubium, quod verum nemo negaret,
Authore quanquam Brixio.
Vix reperit quicquam cui non tamen ipsius omnem
Eidem elevaret vanitas.
Ast ubi dispexit, mentemque per omnia torsit
Deliberabundus diu:
Unum tandem, omnes una quod voce fatentur,
Omni esse vero verius,
Invenit, et scribit lepidum lepidissimus omnes
Cingere caput sibi furias.

IN CHORDIGERAM NAVEM, ET ANTIMORUM SYLVAM GERMANI BRIXII GALLI.

Brixius en Germanus habet sylvamque ratemque,
Dives opum terra, dives opum pelago.
Utraque vis illi quid præstat scire? vehuntur
In rate stultitiæ, sylvam habitant furiæ.

IN HUNC HENDECASYLLABUM, IMO TREDECIM SYLLABARUM VERSUM GERMANI BRIXII GALLI, EX ANTI-MORO SUMPTUM

Excussisse, hominumque in ora protulisse.

MORUS.

Quòd versus adeò faceres enormiter amplos,
Quàm nemo antiquus, nemo poeta novus:
Sæpe diu mecum miratus quærere cœpi,
Accidit hoc Brixi qua ratione tibi?

At tandem didici, metiri te tua suetum
Non numero aut pedibus carmina, sed cubitis.

## IN IDEM.

Carmina Germani quod in hendecasyllaba lector
Syllaba conjecta est terna super decimam,
Da veniam: haud didicit tantum numerare, ut ab uno
Ordine perveniat rectus ad undecimum.
Nolo mihi numeret stellas, aut æquoris undas,
Criminave (hoc plus est) carminis ipse sui.
Pergama si numeret quot sunt obsessa per annos,
Si poterit musas dinumerare novem,
Octo pedes caneri, septena vel ostia Nili,
Fastorumve libros qui tibi Naso manent.
Si numeret cœli plagas, Phœbive caballos,
Tres numeret furias, ter tribus ipse furens.
Ipse suos (sed ne certem sine pignore, dura
Si vincar vinci conditione volo:)
Ipse suos oculos (quum sint duo) si numerarit,
Unum ego tunc patiar perterebretis ei.

FINIS.

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